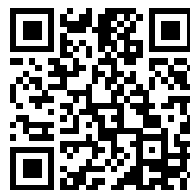

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THE CADENCE OF ENGLISH ORATORICAL PROSE

BY MORRIS W. CROLI

CHAPTER ONE

Introductory

In April 1912 an article appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review* by Mr. J. Shelly, the object of which was to prove that the *cursus*, or system of rhythmical clause-endings employed in the composition of the Latin prayers of the Church during the best periods of liturgical art, had been reproduced in the translation of them in the *English Book of Common Prayer*. For this purpose Shelly scanned the endings of all the clauses that he considered final in all the collects of the Prayer-Book, and gave a special consideration, as there is good reason for doing, to the Sunday collects. His conclusion was, that of the 187 endings in all the collects, 94, or about 50%, are in the three forms of the *cursus*, and that, of the 148 endings in the Sunday collects, 80, or 54%, are in these forms.

It will not be necessary here to repeat the story of the development of the study of cadence in prose during the last fifty years, through the various stages which have finally led to Shelly's suggestion. It is interestingly told in a number of accessible places.¹

¹ The clearest and most convenient summary of the facts concerning the classical *clausulae* is in L. Laurand's *Études sur le Style . . . de Cicéron*, Paris, 1907, where a good bibliography of the researches of Havet, Zielinski, Meyer, and others will be found. It contains a sketch also of the medieval *cursus*. Fundamental for this subject, however, is still the work of L. Rockinger, *Briefsteller u. Formelbücher d. elften bis vierzehnten Jhts.* (Q. u. E. z. Bayer. u. Deutsch. Gesch., vol. 9, München, 1863). The grammarians collected by Thurot (Not. et Extr. des mss. du Bibl. Nat., vol. 22,

But for the convenience of readers to whom the subject is unfamiliar, the three cadences mentioned in the preceding paragraph may be described at once.

The first is *planus*, of which there are two forms:—

*planus*¹: $\angle \cup \cup \angle \cup$, or (according to the notation which I will use throughout this paper) 5-2; in which there are accents on the fifth and the second syllables, counting from the end of the phrase. Ex.: *potentiam suam, virtute succurre* (4th Sun. in Adv.); *help and defend us* (3d. Sun. Aft. Ep.). This corresponds to and descends from Cicero's cretic-trochee, $-\cup - \cup$, as in *audeant arte, causâ sublatâ*.

*planus*²: $\angle \cup \cup \cup \angle \cup$, or 6-2, as in *terrena moderaris* (2d Sun. aft. Ep.), *supplications of thy people* (ib.), *written for our learning*, etc. This corresponds either to Cicero's cretic-trochee with resolution of the first long into two shorts, or to his beloved peon-trochee, as in *esse videatur*.

The second is *tardus*: $\angle \cup \cup \angle \cup \cup$, or 6-3, as in *peccata praepediunt, propitiationis acceleret* (4th Sun. in Adv.), and *governed and sanctified* (2d Good Fr. collect), [*vo*]cation and ministry (ib.). This represents Cicero's dicretic, $-\cup - -\cup -$, as in the phrases, *cerno rempublicam, vincla perfregerat*.

The third is *velox*, $\angle \cup \cup \cup \angle \cup$, or $\bar{7}-\bar{4}-\bar{2}$, as in the phrases, *misericorditer liberemur* (Sept.), *punished for our offences* (ib.). This corresponds to Cicero's cretic-ditrochee ($-\cup - -\cup -\cup$), as in *gaudeat servitute*. Some explanations of its form will occur later.

A fourth form, the *trispondaic*, must be mentioned, though it is not included by Shelly and must not be used in estimating the value of his report. It is, in its briefest form, $-\cup \cup -\cup -\cup -\cup$, or $\bar{9}-\bar{6}-\bar{4}-\bar{2}$; though the medieval theorists permit a further prolongation of the sequence of trochees. It is really *velox* plus one or more additional trochees: a three-syllable period followed by three or more two-syllable periods. Examples are, in Latin, *errantium corda resipiscant* (7th Latin Good Friday collect, 3d in the Eng. Pr.-Book); in English, *profitable to our salvation* (15th Sun. aft. Tr.), *pass to our joyful resurrection* (Easter Even), *such good things as pass man's understanding* (6th Sun. aft. Tr.), and in the

year 1868) are essential. N. Valois, in his study of the rhythm of the Pontifical bulls (Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, vol. 42, for the year 1881, pp. 161-198, 257-272), first applied the rule to texts. E. Vacandard, *Le Cursus . . . dans la liturgie de l'Office Divin* (Revue d. Qu. Hist., N. S. 34, year 1905, pp. 59-102), is best in its field. The researches of Wilhelm Meyer (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen z. mittellat. Rhythmik*, Berlin, 1905) have enlarged our knowledge. Bibliographies in Laurand, as above, and in Prof. A. C. Clark's useful pamphlet, *The Cursus in Med. and Vulg. Latin*, Oxf., 1910.

midst of so many and great dangers (4th Sun. aft. Ep.), where the accent on 4 is almost suppressed.²

That the idea developed by Shelly must have occurred to a number of other scholars at about the same time is proved by the reception given to his paper. It immediately became the starting-point of a considerable number of learned or semi-popular discussions, in most of which the original limits of the investigation were largely and hastily extended. Professor Clark at once accepted the results of Shelly's studies and sought to find the same phenomena in a varied body of English prose.³ Mr. Oliver Elton was still bolder in conjecture and experiment.⁴ Other students, while admitting the occurrence of the forms described by Shelly, attempted to disconnect them with the Latin *cursus*.⁵

All of this indicates clearly the opportuneness of Shelly's suggestion. But in their eagerness to explore the new realms which it opened to their imagination, these scholars have failed to apply the methods of sceptical inquiry to the suggestion itself. Shelly's report of his investigation has never been publicly tested, and this in spite of the fact that it was not accompanied by the specifications which scholars would desire. There is no question of his candor or intelligence; but the problems involved require a considerable experience in such studies; and their proper treatment demands an accumulation of repellent detail which Mr. Shelly could not ask his audience of laymen (largely clergymen they happen to be in this case) to be patient with.

In the first chapter of this paper I will try to test his conclusions by a re-examination of the Sunday collects; and I hope to be able also to mark some of the limits and boundaries in the study of cadence which are in need of more exact definition. In later chap-

² The *trispondaic* is not mentioned by any of the writers on English cadence, though it is described by the medieval theorists (see Maitre Guillaume, ms. Sorbonne 1519, in Thurot, pp. 485 ff.); Vacandard, as above, pp. 72 ff., seems to me to misinterpret the medieval documents. That there was a *dispondaic* ending except preceded by a dactyl needs better evidence than he produces. The *trispondaic* will be found a favorite form in Gibbon.

³ *Prose Rhythm in English*, Oxford, 1913.

⁴ *Eng. Prose Numbers*, in *Essays and Studies* by members of the Eng. Association, 4th Ser., Oxford, 1913.

⁵ See a series of very radical papers, apparently interrupted by the war, by Mr. P. Fijn van Draat (*Anglia*, xxxviii; *Eng. St.*, 1913, etc.), in which he tries not only to trace the cadences to Anglo-Saxon poetry, but also to reconstruct the rhythmical theory of that poetry.

ters, I will offer some new suggestions concerning the form and occurrence of the conventional oratorical cadences in English.

I

According to medieval theory, the *cursus* was used at the ends of the *commata*, *cola*, and *periodus* (or *conclusio*), the parts, large or small, of which a rhetorical period is constructed. In other words it was a conventional way of giving a beautiful flow at the end of a rhetorical unit. In practice, I will try to show, it was not used only in the final positions. But for the present we need not consider this point; for Shelly has naturally followed the medieval theory and studied only the ends of the clauses. In attempting, however, to determine what he considers clauses, and where the cadences are therefore to be expected to occur, we encounter the most serious obstacle to an exact judgment of his results. This difficulty must be explained.

He counts 148 clauses in the Sunday collects; and we turn to them to learn how he arrives at this figure. There are two obvious ways of counting. One is to include in the number all rhetorical divisions of a period (all the Sunday collects consist of a single period, that is, a single articulated sentence), however short, all the *commata* and *cola*, that is, which according to Latin rule might have *cursus*-endings. To put the thing more simply, we might, according to this method, look for a cadence wherever the sense allows or requires a considerable pause. We cannot say exactly how many such places occur in the Sunday collects, because the "phrasing" of an English period is not so definite as in Latin, or at least so regular.⁶ But the number is not less than 180, and might be ten more than that. The only other natural process is to count those divisions of a prayer which are indicated by semi-colons in the authorized editions. There is much to be said for this method; because the semi-colons mark important divisions in the subject-matter and the syntax, and the *cursus-forms* are at least as likely to occur there as elsewhere.⁷ But this cannot be Shelly's method, for according to it there are actually 113, not 148 endings.⁸

⁶ See Chapter Three, § 1, below, for a full discussion of the theory of "phrasing" and the form of the period.

⁷ On the structure of the collects, see Goulburn, *The Collects*, Book I, chap. 3.

⁸ If the concluding formulae ("to whom," "through whose mediation,"

It is impossible to say exactly how Shelly has reached his definite figure. It seems probable that he has used the semi-colons as his main guide, but has often chosen to break a long clause into two or three clauses, on the testimony of his own ears, or perhaps of the customary manner of recitation in English churches. But this is a dangerous procedure when one's object is to prove the existence of objective phenomena of rhythm. For experience will show that it is very easy (within certain limits) to make such divisions where one desires to have them occur, and there will be a great temptation to have them occur where the cadences themselves occur, if one has these sounding in his ears. At all events his use of this method, sound or unsound, makes it impossible to apply an exact test to his results.

We can make a rough one, however, by using either of the two methods just discussed, that is, either by counting all the rhetorical pauses as places for cadence, or by counting only the pauses marked by semi-colons. If the percentage of cadenced endings as compared with the whole number of endings is in either case approximately the same as Shelly's percentage, his results will be confirmed. There would be advantages in each method; but I choose the latter, the method of counting the pauses marked by semi-colons, because it eliminates the necessity of doubtful decisions.

The result, it must be said, is not favorable to Shelly's conclusions. Of the 113 endings occurring at the places described only 43, or 38% of the whole number, are in the three forms, according to the strictest possible interpretation of the requirements of these forms; only 45, or 40%, according to the freest interpretation of them.* Between either of these figures and Shelly's 54% there is a difference that cannot be disregarded, and it does not appear that Shelly has meant to include in his figure any of the possible variations from the Latin forms which we shall presently discuss.

"through," etc.) are counted, the number would be 167; but these are obviously not meant to be rhythmical in the English translation. It must be added that the semi-colon is not absolutely a definite indication of structural division, because sometimes the two parts (*protasis* and *apodosis*) are so closely connected syntactically that a comma is used. But this makes no practical difficulty.

*The first doubtful case is:—*To rise again for our justification* (1st Sun. aft. East.), where the last word forms a *planus* if we may admit that a whole cadence may fall within one word; but the rules for division of

In as far then as the test we have used indicates the value of his results, it must be taken as showing that he has sometimes yielded to the temptation which besets an experimenter in English rhythm of the forcing of accents and the partial and subjective decision of questions of pronunciation.¹⁰

II

Before concluding the criticism of Shelly's paper a question must be asked which has not been raised by Shelly himself or by any of his successors, though it bears directly on the thesis which he maintains. It is the question whether the same clause-endings are cadenced in English and in Latin, and the same uncadenced; and whether, further, the same cadence occurs at corresponding places. That is, does *velox* appear for *velox*, *tardus* for *tardus*, etc., or not?

The answer is that there is no such correspondence. Indeed the disagreement is so striking that it will be well to illustrate it in some detail.

In the first place, the cadences occur in English where there are none in Latin and *vice versa*. For example, although the great majority of the Latin prayers are written with close attention to the rules of the *cursus*, including those which provide for variety by the use of different cadences in neighboring clauses, there are a few, as, for instance, the collects for the 7th and 11th Sundays after Trinity, in which almost none but simple *planus* cadences occur, and those perhaps accidentally, or as the result of a fixed

words in medieval usage would forbid this; the custom of the ancients did not favor it; and the English ear rejects it as foreign to the character of the cadenced endings. *Action and honor* is not the same rhythmically as *justification*. The second is: *prayers of thy humble servants* (10th Sun. aft. Tr.), where the doubt is due to the uncertainty of the pronunciation of *prayers*. It is probably to be considered as one syllable, making this ending a regular *velox*.

¹⁰ In description Shelly shows caution and criticism; but in scanning it must be said that he betrays the weakness spoken of in the text. He scans *a single province of the Roman Empire* and *to the Latin language* as examples of *planus*² (6-2); and *when in difficulties*, and *the force of genius* (from Newman), as *planus*² and *tardus*, respectively. *Rising with the occasion* (Newman), obviously a *velox*, he scans as *tardus*, accenting *with* and treating *occasion* as four syllables.

habit. These prayers are chiefly from the Sacramentary of Gelasius, though I do not know what significance there may be in this fact; and in all of them there are marked effects of balance and rhyme, which serve, in the absence of the *cursus*, to provide the *voluptas aurium* which public prayers should give. In the English translation the *cursus*-forms are just as common in these prayers as in others.

In the second place, there is no relation between the *form* of the Latin ending at a given place and the form of the corresponding English ending. If there is *planus* in the one there may be *velox* or *tardus* (if anything) in the other; and so on. The collect for the 11th Sunday after Trinity is a case in which there is agreement in both main clauses; but this is one of the prayers just mentioned in which only the inconspicuous *planus* appears. To this we may add the second collect for Good Friday, though we have hitherto been confining our attention to the Sunday collects. Here *tardus* occurs in the first clause and *velox* in the second in both Latin and English. Except in these two prayers an agreement even in a single clause is an exceptional phenomenon, and in the English prayers in which the *cursus*-forms are most conspicuous it happens that there is no agreement with the Latin original (see for instance Whitsunday and the 4th Sunday after Trinity).

The significance of these facts is too clear to be missed. The translators did not set themselves the task of copying the forms before them in a given prayer, as the uninformed reader of Shelly might suppose. And when this fact is taken in conjunction with those that we have previously noted, namely, the relatively small number of English endings that display the *exact cursus*-forms, as compared with the number counted by Shelly, it becomes evident that we must change the idea of the relation between the English and the Latin rhythmic procedure that has been formed heretofore by all the readers of Shelly's paper. Instead of deliberate and systematic imitation, we must suppose a general, purely aural, and in some degree unconscious influence. Instead of working by clearly-understood methods and formulated rules, as the authors of the Latin did, the translators were controlled merely by the desire to produce an effect in general like that of the Latin. Whether they knew of the Latin rules, or were aware that there were rules, we cannot positively say; in view of the fact that the

teaching of the rules had, according to all the best evidence, been neglected or wholly abandoned in the secretarial offices of both church and state since about the beginning of the fourteenth century,¹¹ it is probable that Cranmer and his associates were not familiar with them. But however that may be, their practice seems to show that they were less anxious to imitate exactly at this point or that, than to produce prayers that would lend themselves to the traditional mode of intonation and attain the traditional oratorical effect.

Their procedure could be exactly illustrated by a comparison with their method in reproducing the other rhetorical features of the Latin prayers. These works are singularly rich in rime, alliteration, balance, and the other figures of sound which form the chief adornments of medieval Latin prose and are used there with more complexity and involution than in any other prose. The echoes of them in the English prayer-book will provide the interesting subject of some future investigation; and it will prove to have important relations to the subject of rhythm itself. All that can be said here is that the translators have never failed to observe the artifices of their predecessors, have done all that their language and the conditions of their task permitted them in reproducing their effect in English, but have avoided the pedantry of exact imitation. It is exactly so in their study of rhythmic effect. They have seen that to write cadence for cadence would involve the sacrifice of beauty of phrase. They have allowed the English phrase to develop its own beauty, to perfect the oratorical form toward which we can see it slowing growing in the earlier translations. But in doing so they have also—perhaps unconsciously—tended to guide it toward one of the forms of final cadence to which their ears were habituated by their lifelong use of the Latin liturgy.¹²

Of course a wholly different conclusion may be drawn from the corrections and criticisms of Shelly's article which we have found necessary. They may be regarded as throwing serious doubt upon the alleged Latin influence *in toto*. They need not however have

¹¹ On this point see Valois, *Le Rythme des Bulles Pontificales*, as above.

¹² Some examples profitable for study will be found in the collects for Innocents' Day, the 4th Sunday after Easter, and the prayer in the service for the Churching of Women. The last will be found in Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* (a book which should have been mentioned earlier as invaluable to the student of our subject), vol. 2, p. 306.

this effect. The occurrence of three (or four) forms of cadence in 40% of all the endings is not an accidental phenomenon. If, for example, we should limit the study of Cicero's clausules to the three forms he liked best (and this would be the equivalent of Shelly's method), we should find that he cadences only 44% of his endings; and if we should add his use of the form which corresponds to Shelly's fourth form (*planus*²), the percentage would still be only 46.¹⁸ But it must also be remembered that these results have been obtained by limiting ourselves strictly to Shelly's method of observation. The purpose of the two following chapters of this paper will be to show that he has limited too narrowly the area in which we may properly look for the influence of the *cursus* in the Collects, in the first place in his study of the *forms* of English cadence, and in the second place in his ideas concerning the places where cadence may occur. If the arguments to be adduced there are sound it will be necessary to disregard Shelly's figures and attempt a new estimate of the extent of the Latin influence on a different basis. It must be remembered, however, that however high the percentage of cadenced endings may be found to be, it will not be so high as in the Latin collects. Cadencing was regularized and prescribed in certain forms of medieval Latin prose, and it was therefore much more frequent and pervasive than in any classical Latin, or any English, prose.

CHAPTER TWO

English Variations of the Cursus-forms

The remarks just made concerning the *modus operandi* of the translators were suggested by observing the places of the occurrence of cadences. But their importance cannot be limited to that part of our subject. Once admit that the influence of the Latin *cursus* was of the general and aural character that has been described, and the theory of the *forms* the cadences would assume when transferred to English is radically affected. If the translators did not know the chancelry-rules, as seems probable, or, knowing them, chose to observe them only in so far as they made for the general effect

¹⁸ These figures are founded upon those of Zielinski: *Der Rhythmus d. Röm. Kunstprosa u. seine Psychologische Grundlagen* (Archiv. f. Gesamte Psych., 1906, vol. 7).

of euphony and ceremony that they desired, why should they have been more pedantic in following their exact forms than in observing their places? Why should they not relax the rigidity of these forms if their ears were satisfied that their essential beauties could be transferred in this way, perhaps only in this way, into their own language?

Shelly has not admitted such a possibility. He has worked, as all who have followed him have done, on the assumption of a mechanical transfer to the collects (and hence to other English prose) of the exact metrical forms of the originals. It is a new step, therefore, in the development of the theory of cadence that is here suggested,—one that will of course introduce some confusion and uncertainty into a subject that is now at least definite, but may also place it finally on a foundation at once broader and firmer. At least it is a radical step, and must not be taken without due consideration. In presenting the arguments in favor of it, the collects will still furnish us with most of our examples; but the discussion will gradually extend itself to other pieces of cadenced English prose.

There are three variations of the regular Latin forms which would be most likely to appear with frequency if the translators worked in the free way we have described. I will describe and illustrate these three before giving the reasons for considering them equivalent to the Latin forms.

1. The ending *velox* would easily become 8-4-2 in English, and would not lose its essential character in so doing. Some examples are:—*carry us through all temptations* (4th Sun. aft. Ep.); *defended by thy mighty power* (5th Sun. aft. Ep.); *partakers of thy resurrection* (Sun. bef. East.); *the weakness of our mortal nature* (Tr. Sun.); *declarest thy almighty power* (11th Sun. aft. Tr.); *continually to be given* (17th Sun. aft. Tr.).

2. *Velox* again could be modified by the addition of a light syllable at the end, the form thus becoming 8-5-3 instead of 7-4-2, or 9-5-3 instead of 8-4-2. This is a very common ending:—*defend us from all adversities* (Tr. Sun.); *serve thee in all godly quietness* (5th Sun. aft. Tr.); *return into the way of righteousness* (3d Sun. aft. East.); *always prevent and follow us*¹⁴

¹⁴ The validity of this example depends upon the strength given to the syllable *al*.

(17th Sun. aft. Tr.); *visit us in great humility* (1st Sun. in Adv.); *the example of his great humility* (Sun. bef. East.); *our defence against all our enemies* (3d Sun. in Lent); *protection of thy good Providence* (2d Sun. aft. Tr.); *hearts of the disobedient* (3d Sun. in Adv.).

3. *Tardus* would often become 7 – 3 instead of 6 – 3. This is in fact the commoner form, I believe, in elevated prose; and certainly some of the most beautiful phrases in the prayer-book owe their character to it. Examples are:—*several necessities* (All Cond. of Men); *dangers and adversities* (3d Sun. aft. Tr.); *troubles and adversities* (Collect in the Litany); *free from all adversities* (22d Sun. aft. Tr.); *acknowledging our wretchedness* (Ash-Wed.); *ordered by thy governance* (5th Sun. aft. Tr.); *never-failing Providence* (8th Sun. aft. Tr.).

Clark has included two of these three forms (2 and 3) in his consideration of English cadences¹⁵; but he has done so on the ground of their regular occurrence in the medieval *cursus*, which he assumes without giving the evidence. Neither the theory nor the practice of medieval Latin, in fact, recognizes either of them; and if their occurrence in English is to be ascribed to the imitation of the Latin rhythms, it must be only because we admit that such imitation in English has been of the free and adaptive kind described above. That is, to include them among the cadence-forms is to recognize a principle of freedom in the English laws of cadence which is wholly contrary to the Latin laws, and which may perhaps be extended to other variations besides these three. |

What are the reasons then for accepting this principle; that is, for expecting the three variations, and perhaps still others, to appear in English as equivalents of the regular Latin forms? There are two, both derived from differences between the two languages: the first from a difference in the character of their words, the second from a difference in their metrical character and customs.

I. English is far less polysyllabic than Latin. It had been so even in its classical Anglo-Saxon form, in the period when Anglo-Saxon was enjoying its highest courtly and literary cultivation; and with the loss of inflections which attended its rapid decline

¹⁵ *Prose Rhythm in Eng.*, p. 6.

before and after the Norman Conquest, its words of course became still shorter. It was then in the same relation in this respect to its more ancient form that modern Greek is to the literary Greek of the classical age, or that the spoken Latin of the periods when it was merging into the modern vernaculars was to the Latin of the age of Augustus. In this state it was incapable of receiving the *cursus*. But in this state it did not, as we know, long remain. Even in Anglo-Saxon times the importation of Latin words, chiefly names of things ecclesiastical, had already begun, and this process of enrichment and alteration of the English vocabulary continued steadily through all the centuries that followed. The causes that contributed to it have often been described. But perhaps the liturgical vocabulary of the church had a greater share in it than historians of the language have observed. It might appear, on exact investigation, that the Latin words which first came into the language between the Conquest and the middle of the fourteenth century were in great number the words familiarized by the constant public repetition of the prayers; and it is certainly true that the ever-increasing importation of such words from the middle of the fourteenth century onward to the middle of the 16th was in some degree due to the early efforts in the translation of the liturgy, and in great degree to the steady stream of translation of devotional works written in a semi-liturgical style which was characteristic of this period. These facts, of course, have an important bearing on the subject of cadence, and would account for the success of the sixteenth-century translators in transferring the effect of the *cursus* into the prayer-book.

The only point to be made here, however, is the more general one that in as far as this process of Latinization of the vocabulary had gone on it was possible to have the cadences in English,—and no further. Native English was not of a character to lend itself to them, and it had become still more foreign to them during the period of its decline. It is true that in any language and under any condition of its development it is possible to produce forms that will exactly fill the metrical schemes of the *cursus*. But any one who has studied the *cursus* in medieval Latin must be aware that its effects are not produced merely by exact metrical forms. The rules of the medieval theorists show that the relation between the fall of the accents and the number of the syllables in the words

on which they fall is of the essence of its beauty, and is part of the actual form of the cadences themselves.

This point may first be illustrated by a rather full consideration of *velox*. This form is very inadequately represented by the formula 7-4-2, - - - - - ; for it is of its essence that the accent on 4 shall be subordinate to that on 2, and the characteristic case of it is that in which it ends in a four- or five-syllable word, with the main accent on the penult, and hence (according to Latin rule) a subordinate accent on the second syllable preceding. Thus:—*et ad implenda quae viderint convalescant* (1st Sun. aft. Ep.); *misericorditer liberemur* (Sept. Sun). So characteristic is this form that there are but three or four exceptions to it in the Sunday collects. In fact the rules for the *cursus* are uniformly stated by medieval theorists in terms of the length of the words used in it. *Velox* is said to consist of a four-syllable word with the accent on the penult preceded by a word of three or more syllables with an accent on the ante-penult, though a writer of one period may admit that two words of two syllables each may take the place of the last word;¹⁶ and another of different date may include also a three-syllable word with accent on the penult preceded by a monosyllable, and even other forms.¹⁷ But in all kinds of prose which have been examined these varieties are infrequent.

In order to produce exactly the Latin effect, therefore, English would have had to have taken over a large number of such words from the Latin, that is, four- or five-syllable words; and, further, it would have had to have preserved the accents where they were in Latin, or at least to have kept the Latin law that a minor or secondary accent falls on the second syllable before the main accent. But there are not a great many such words in English, partly because in taking long words from the Latin we have so modified and clipped their endings, that they are no longer accented on the penult, as in *comparative*, partly because the tendency to recessive accent in English has produced the same result, as in *difficulty*, *ordinary*, etc., and partly because the law of the fall of the minor accents, just mentioned, is not observed in English, and we have

¹⁶ So, for example, a *Summa Dictaminis* of Saxon origin reproduced in part in Rockinger, pp. 209-346 (p. 213).

¹⁷ See *Summa Dictaminum magistri Ludolfi* (Ludolf of Hildesheim), also in Rockinger.

such pronunciations as *justification*, *simplification*, etc. And, moreover, it is to be observed that there were not so many of them in the middle of the sixteenth century as there are now. Not many can be gathered from the prayer-book itself:—*confirmation*, *mediation*, *resurrection*, *supplications*, *satisfaction*, *regeneration*, *circumcision*, *advantageous* and a few others, nearly all words in *-ion* or else words that are not likely to occur at the ends of phrases.¹⁸

In order to produce the exact form of the second part of Latin *velox*, therefore, the translators had to resort to one of two combinations of word-length both of which were comparatively rare in Latin, though as we have seen they were recognized by some theorists. The first is a three-syllable paroxytone word preceded by a monosyllable bearing a minor accent. Nearly all the *veloxes* in the Latin collects that do not come in the first case show this form:—*propitius et agendi* (9th Sun. aft. Tr.); *oratio non praesumit* (12th Sun. aft. Tr.); etc. Instances of this combination are not uncommon in English, are relatively more frequent than in Latin; and the point for us to notice is that here again English is chiefly dependent upon the Latin words in its vocabulary; for the native phrase will not often go in this undulant meter. Some examples are:—*lose not the things eternal* (4th Sun. aft. Tr.); *keeping of thy commandments* (1st Sun. aft. Tr.); *increase in us true religion* (7th Sun. aft. Tr.); *by our frailty we have committed* (24th Sun. aft. Tr.).

The other word-combination recognized in Latin is that in which the second part of the cadence consists of two two-syllable words. This is less frequent than either of the others in Latin. But it is important for English because it lends itself to the needs of a language that is not rich in polysyllables. It is relatively frequent in the prayer-book, and still more so in some later prose, especially Gibbon's. It is important, therefore, to remark that like the other combinations just mentioned it is dependent upon the Latinization of our vocabulary. This is apparent as soon as we recall, once more, that the accent on 4 in *velox* is subordinate. Not any combination of two-syllable words therefore will produce the necessary effect, but only certain two-word *phrases*; and nearly all such phrases will prove to consist of a noun preceded by an adjective.

¹⁸ A very small number of native words also have the proper form: *everlasting*, *understanding*, etc.

The Latin origin of most phrases of this kind suitable for use in the *velox* cadence may be illustrated from the following examples: *renewed by thy Holy Spirit* (Sun. aft. Christmas); *sending to them the light of thy Holy Spirit* (Whit.); *rejoice in his holy comfort* (ib.); *look upon the hearty desires of thy humble servants* (3d Sun. in Lent); *the prayers of thy humble servants* (10th Sun. aft. Tr.); *the wills of thy faithful people* (25th Sun. aft. Tr.). It is true that the word *holy* is not a Latin word; but all of the *phrases* in these cadences owe their existence and their form to liturgical Latin, and to the efforts of a hundred and fifty years in the translation of its copious and conventional style into English.¹⁹

It is not to be denied of course that English may produce a correct and beautiful *velox* cadence by short words of its own, as in *thy people which call upon thee* (1st Sun. aft. Ep.), and perhaps in *evermore by thy help and goodness* (ib.). But the cases are rare and do not affect the general validity of the point we have been urging. This point is merely that the Latinization of the English vocabulary had not proceeded far enough in the middle of the sixteenth century—perhaps has not yet proceeded far enough—to make the *exact* reproduction of the metrical forms of the *cursus* easy or natural. The length of the argument is perhaps out of proportion to the difficulty of establishing the point. But in the course of it the opportunity has arisen to make clear some necessary features of cadence which have been almost wholly obscured in English discussions of the subject. And the facts we have been examining will yield, moreover, another argument which serves our purpose more directly. For they show, not only that it is difficult to reproduce the exact Latin forms in English, but also that the exact reproduction of their *form* will not always produce their *effect*, that this effect may, on the contrary, sometimes be better produced by variations of the forms.

Two examples will serve for illustration. The Latin rule of accenting every other syllable (counting backward from the main accent) serves to give a definite character and value to the secondary accent in a four-syllable paroxytone word, as in *dependentes* for instance; upon it, indeed, the character of Latin *velox* depends. English not only has no such rule, but is much less attentive to

¹⁹ A study of the development in style from the earliest primers and service-books in English up to the prayer-book of 1549 is much to be desired.

subordinate accent within a word. Thus *resurrection* and *mediation* may easily be pronounced without any accent on the first syllable, or with so little that the characteristic undulation of Latin would not be felt; and that this is true is shown by the fact that an accented syllable immediately preceding usually draws all accent away from them. If, however, a long run of unaccented syllables precede such a word the accent on its first syllable is inevitably somewhat strengthened. For this reason, then, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that the ending 8-4-2 will sometimes better represent the true form of Latin *velox*, as, for instance, in the phrase *partakers of thy resurrection*, than 7-4-2 will.

Again: In the case of the two-word phrases ending a *velox*, as *mortal nature*, *faithful servants*, etc., there is a departure from the exact Latin effect, but in the opposite direction from that just mentioned. That is, there is here a tendency to put too strong an accent on the adjective, and hence to give too much importance to the minor accent of the cadence. And the same remark applies often to phrases consisting of a monosyllable plus a trisyllable. This effect will not be produced, however, if the last accent of the cadence is followed by *two* unaccented syllables instead of by one, because the lengthening of this unaccented part of the period has the effect of strengthening its accent, and the minor accent of the preceding period is thus relatively reduced. *Defend us from all adversities, our defence against all our enemies, and serve thee in all godly quietness* are better reproductions of *velox* than phrases of the form 7-4-2 would be in their places.

So far our discussion has been limited to the case of the *velox* cadence. The same points may be more briefly illustrated by *tardus*. We have described this cadence as 6-3, or $\angle \cup \cup \angle \cup \cup$; but to make this statement without taking into account also the forms of the *words* used in achieving this arrangement of accents is an uncritical procedure. For in fact the two periods of this ending are not equal, as the metrical notation might be taken to indicate. A certain slight difference might, it is true, be taken as implied in this notation, since it is recognized in all metrical theory that final syllables have a tendency to be light and short unless supported by rime or otherwise.

But in the present case that is not all. In medieval usage this difference was heightened by the kind of words used in the cadence. In both theory and practice it always ends in a three- or four-

syllable word: most theorists say, a four-syllable word, saving themselves by adding that a three-syllable word proparoxytone preceded by a one-syllable word unaccented is equivalent to a four-syllable word proparoxytone,²⁰ as in *non possumus, sit libera*. In practice, we find that at least three-quarters of the *tardus* cadences end in a four-syllable word, as, in the collects, *mortalis infirmitas* (1st Sun. aft. Tr.), *habere perpetuum* (2d Sun. aft. Tr.), *defensionis auxilium* (3d Sun. aft. Tr.); and of the others nearly all end in a monosyllable plus a trisyllable, as in *esse non possumus* (9th Sun. aft. Tr.), *amare quod praecipis* (14th Sun. aft. Tr.), *mundet et muniat* (16th Sun. aft. Tr.). The result of these restrictions of form is that a pause occurs within the first period of *tardus* (some authors call it a cesura), but none within the second, and the first period is therefore longer to the ear than the second.²¹

Now English is embarrassed in trying to render this effect by the same comparative lack of long native words that has been noted above; and though it may achieve the result through the use of its Latinistic vocabulary it cannot do so often. It follows that *tardus* must either be rare in English—so rare as not to appear a characteristic form of English cadence,—or else must often change its metrical form in order to maintain the inequality between its two periods which is a necessary part of its effect. In fact *tardus* in the form 6-3 is very infrequent in the prayer-book,²² and also, I think, in other cadenced prose. On the other hand, the form 7-3 is one of the commonest, as it is one of the most beautiful, of English endings, and must be regarded as usually a better equivalent for the Latin than 6-3.²³

II. We have been considering the effects of differences of vocabulary upon the relation between Latin and English cadence. A ✓

²⁰ See the same treatises cited above for *velox*.

²¹ We need not go further back than medieval Latin for our purposes; but it is interesting to observe that in Cicero 86 per cent. of the dicretic clauses (the predecessors of *tardus*) end in a three-, four-, or five-syllable word, 43 per cent. in a four-syllable word. Zielinski indicates his sense of the greater weight of the first period by analyzing this clause as a cretic plus a trochee-and-a-half (as above, p. 129).

²² Among the forty-five cadenced endings which I have counted (accepting Shelly's restrictions as to form and occurrence: see p. 5, above), only six are in this form.

²³ For examples (*acknowledging our wretchedness, dangers and adversities, etc.*), see above, p. 11.

second reason, equally strong, for expecting a modification or relaxation of the forms of the *cursus* when transferred to English is to be found in the difference between the metrical usages and traditions of the two languages, the difference between a strictly regulated metrical or numerical custom, and a free custom in which only accent is strictly regarded.

Whatever their popular poetry may have been, the classical languages submitted themselves from an early date to a discipline which imposed an exact weight and value upon each syllable of a word and a line. The "foot" was established as the metrical unit, and the time-relations of its parts as carefully fixed as are those of a bar of music, the thesis receiving as strict attention as the arsis. English of course has never been so rigorous. It has always tended to rob the unaccented syllables of importance in order to pay more abundantly to the accented. And in particular it has usually permitted itself some freedom in the number of syllables following or preceding the one that has the beat. This is obviously the case in our native forms of verse, the alliterative long line, and its degenerate form of later centuries, of the ballad verse (if this is really a native form), and of all popular song-measures. But it is also true, though in a less degree, of the naturalized romance forms which have been used by our most learned poets. None of these poets, not even Milton, has succeeded in regularizing his verse as regards the number of its syllables, the rules of elision, etc., to the same extent that classical verse was regularized, and whenever this result has been even approximated, a strong reaction has set in after a short time toward the freer native method. †

In view of these familiar facts, what would be the likely procedure of the translators of the collects? If they knew the Latin rules and were pedantically determined to observe them, of course they might subordinate effect to exact form and by considerable effort find phrases that would scan by the Latin rules. But if they were guided only by such aural influences as we have been supposing, and by their trained sense of oratorical effect, they would be likely to observe the accents of the Latin *cursus*-forms, but would be likely to take the same freedom with the unaccented syllables that English poetry always tends to take. They would adhere to the Latin number of unaccented syllables just in as far as they would have to do so in order to maintain the accents in

their proper relation to each other (this relation being determined by the ear alone), and they would adhere to it no further than this.

But we may state the relation somewhat more precisely. For what we have just said is equivalent to saying that the tendency of English will be to *increase* the number of syllables at certain places. The syllable-counting custom of medieval Latin gives a definite inalterable value to each unaccented syllable of a metrical unit; and a slight difference between the number of such syllables in one part of a cadence and another, between the two of the first period of *velox*, for instance, and the one of each of its other periods, may be depended upon to produce an effect and establish a desired relation between the parts. In English, on the other hand, so slight a difference might easily fail to produce its effect in certain circumstances, and this would be especially the case in the prose cadences, where the two (or three) periods of a cadence are of different lengths, and its effect depends upon this difference. There would thus be a tendency in English to secure a clearer recognition of the relation between the accents by increasing the difference of the intervals between them. Thus, to take our examples from the three variations we are considering in this chapter, the cadence 8-4-2 would mark more clearly than 7-4-2 the fact that *velox* consists of a longer period followed by shorter ones, and the form 7-3 would often be the only one that would correctly represent the relation between the periods of *tardus*. ✓

It is hardly necessary, however, to resort to a *priori* argument to make the point. The difference in the metrical practise of the two languages has resulted in such actual differences in the enunciation of unaccented syllables that numerical comparison of them is often misleading. *Venire, legere, possumus, fortiter* have three syllables each in all circumstances, and are always to be represented, in musical notation, by a quarter-note plus two eighth-notes; but *heavenly, glorious, interests, evening, even company*, may be either a quarter plus two-eighths or a quarter plus one-eighth, according to circumstances. Latin *fur* is always one syllable, *flore* always two; but *power, flower, fine, prayer, ever, even, dear, common, higher* are sometimes one syllable and sometimes two syllables. Poetry regulates this freedom by its pattern, and can impose a full three-syllable value on *glorious, every*, and the like by its own laws. But prose is not capable of such arbitrary prescription, and these words will seldom be felt as having the same value as three syllable

words in Latin, *flower*, *prayer*, etc., as equivalent to a Latin two-syllable word. It follows that English cadence can never be properly described by a numerical system, and that it can never produce the same effect as the Latin cadence unless it is allowed a certain freedom in its use of unaccented syllables.

We have now considered at length the three variations from the regular forms of the *cursus* which occur most frequently in English use, with the reasons which lead us to regard them as English equivalents of the regular forms. It may seem that more space has been devoted to these forms than is due to their importance, especially in view of the fact that one scholar has already included two of them among the English cadences without considering it necessary to argue the question at all. The purpose of the discussion, however, has been not only to establish these three forms—though they are very important in themselves,—but also to use them as the best tests of a principle which, once clearly recognized, may be more widely extended. If we are willing to admit the principle that English metrical custom tends to blur and relax the metrical forms of the cadences and to retain only their characteristic movements, we may carry its applications considerably beyond the point which we have now reached. I wish in a future chapter to show that this in fact is what we may hope to do, and that by following this line of development we may arrive at a more profitable method of studying English cadence than the sole study of metrical formulae.

The further stages of the argument must be put off, however, for the moment, while we take up certain questions concerning the occurrence of the cadences rather than their form.

CHAPTER THREE

Where Does Cadence Occur in an English Sentence?

The question what are the usual and conventional places for the occurrence of cadence in English has scarcely been considered at all, even by those who have treated the subject of the forms most fully. It has been assumed that the ear is a sufficient guide to the reader in determining his author's intention, and that the author himself is directed merely by his natural feeling for euphony and

beauty. It may be, indeed, that we shall not succeed in avoiding a final appeal to tests as vague as these. But, on the other hand, it is clear that we should not neglect any opportunity to control them by facts or principles that are capable of definite formulation. For the chief danger that besets the student of cadence is the temptation to discover a proper place for cadence wherever he discovers the forms. He may too easily adjust his reading of his author's sentences to his preconceived ideas of cadence-form. Indeed, we have already found, in our attempt to determine the principles acted on by Shelly in his search for cadence in the *Collects*, a striking instance of the uncertainty of a merely subjective test.

I

The Final Positions

There is unanimous agreement on one point among all who have written on the subject, namely, that the places to look for cadence are at certain final positions, the *end* of the sentence, and the *ends* of certain parts of it. In the following section of this chapter I will hazard the suggestion that they may also be found, as part of the general rhythmic effect of a sentence, in certain other positions, not final in the sense in which the term is here used. But at least there is no doubt that they do occur in the final positions, and that these are much the most important places for them. Even though we had not the authority of the classical and medieval theorists to support us, we should expect to find cadence before pauses.

Where then do these pauses occur? What are the final positions in a sentence? This is evidently the all-important question. Until it has been answered as fully as the facts permit us to answer it, we have done almost nothing toward the establishment of a science of English cadence. Yet this question has not been even asked by those who have written on the subject, except by one American scholar who attempts an answer—professedly superficial—in a recent paper.²⁴

²⁴ F. M. K. Foster, "Cadence in English Prose," *Jour. of E. and G. Philol.*, July, 1917. Professor Foster recognizes the important fact that the pauses are determined by breathing intervals necessary in oral delivery. He might, however, have stated the facts more simply, more accurately, and more completely if he had had recourse to the great tradition of rhetorical theory.

The proper method of procedure is fortunately not far to seek. Cadence in classical and medieval Latin was a small and dependent part of oratorical style. It was a last touch of ornament which accented and completed a large design of "rhythm." The groundwork of this design was the rhetorical form of the "period." Periodicity and rhythm are often exactly identified in the ancient theory, or, when they are distinguished, they are related to each other as the means to the end. And this method of treatment is the only one that the student of modern cadence can profitably employ. We cannot hope to advance far in the study of the euphonious endings until we relate their occurrence, as far as the character of English prose permits, to the rhetorical design of the sentences in which they are used.

The theory of the period was a commonplace of rhetoric in the Renaissance; but hardly a vestige of it now remains in even the most formal of rhetorical treatises. It is partly for this reason that we are justified in reviving it here in connection with the subject of cadence, even though it is so familiar to historical students of rhetoric. But, besides this, the recent careful studies of a French scholar would justify a new survey of the familiar field in view of the new precision which he has been able to arrive at in relating questions of rhythm and cadence to the doctrine of the period.²⁶ The following summary will be found to owe a great deal to his treatment.

1. There is no better definition of the *period* than Hobbes' curt translation of Aristotle in his *Brief of the Art of Rhetorick* (1681):²⁶ "A period is such a part as is perfect in itself, and has such length as may easily be comprehended by the understanding." Aristotle's statement in full (*Rhetoric*, III, ch. 9) is as follows: "I call a period a form of words which has independently in itself a beginning and ending, and a length easily taken in at a glance." Though the period ordinarily coincides with the sentence, theoretically it is not the same, and in practice it may (in certain kinds of style²⁷) consist of elements not syntactically connected. For it

²⁶ Eugène Landry, *La Théorie du Rythme et le Rythme du Français Déclamé*, Paris, 1911.

²⁷ Published with Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in Bohn Library, London, 1846. The passage quoted is from III, ch. 8, p. 334.

²⁸ For instance, in the style of Seneca, and in that of Montaigne, Bacon,

is not a syntactic or logical unit, but on the one hand a psychological, and on the other a rhythmical, unit.²⁸ Here of course we are concerned with it as a unit of sound, a rhythmical unit. It may be simple, or undivided, as in "Socrates is mortal" (Landry's example, p. 235), or "I wonder you fear not their ends whose actions you imitate" (Hobbes' example, p. 334). But it may be divided, and consist of parts.

2. The parts of a divided period are called *members* (*membra*) or *cola* (in medieval Latin also *distinctiones* or *versus*), and the number of these that may constitute a period is undefined, though Landry thinks that a larger number than eight is abnormal in the purely oratorical, or declamatory, style. The member rather than the period is treated by some writers as the true unit of oratorical style, since it is determined by the physiological laws of breathing, and hence has its length definitely limited. A member is followed by a rest, or pause, which is a breathing-interval, and it very rarely exceeds twenty syllables in length, because the heightened energy of utterance required in public speaking cannot be maintained for a greater number of syllables than this without an opportunity fully to recover the breath. The number of emphatic accents varies from one to four.²⁹ It may be added, though the point is obvious, that a member is uttered during the *expiration* of breath, the pause being the period of inhalation.

The "harmony," "number," or "rhythm" of a period depends chiefly upon the relations between the members of which it consists: relations of length, form, and sound. In oratorical style there is always a tendency to arrange them in groups of two or more of approximately (but not exactly) the same length, and to point the effect of balance thus produced by similarity in the syntactic form of these members, by correspondences in sound between words in

Browne, and other seventeenth-century 'Anti-Ciceronians' and imitators of Seneca.

²⁸ See on this point Landry, p. 235.

²⁹ Landry (p. 216) finds that the average number of syllables is eleven and a half. It must be remembered, however, that in style not actually meant to be declaimed, the member may be longer, both because the amount of energy expended in the utterance of a syllable is smaller, and because speech is more rapid, in such style. In Gibbon, whose style is not calculated for actual declamation, though it is made on the oratorical model, members of twenty-three or twenty-four syllables may be found.

corresponding positions in them, and finally by parallel or related rhythmic movements. Variations, however, from the regularity of a pattern thus suggested are, it must always be remembered, the chief resources of the orator in his quest of rhythmic and expressive beauty.

3. Some theorists give a place in the doctrine of the period to a phenomenon which is very frequent in every oratorical style in which there is a certain amplitude and dignity, namely, the combination of two members, related to each other syntactically in certain ways, to form a larger unit within the period. This double unit, consisting of two members, is called a *phrase*. It is not an essential part, however, of the theory of the period, since a single phrase cannot occur alone. Unless there are at least two *phrases*, balanced in form, we may describe the period as consisting merely of members. But in a style as copious and sonorous as, say, Isocrates', or Cicero's, or Bossuet's, or even Gibbon's, the phrase is very frequent; and, though we shall not perhaps be called on to use it in the present discussion, it will often be of assistance in the study of the occurrences and forms of cadence.

4. A colon of a certain length may fall into two (sometimes even three) parts in utterance, the division between them being indicated by a pause shorter than that at the end of a colon. One of these parts, which, however, like the phrases, never occur singly, is called a *comma* (*caesum*, *incisum*, or sometimes in medieval Latin *subdistinctio*). The division of the *colon* into *commata* is not connected apparently with the physiological process of breathing, or at least is not primarily due to this, but is chiefly the effect of a law of beauty of sound which seems to demand such a break. Landry, therefore, and other theorists treat it as primarily a melodic phenomenon, rather than as a rhythmic one, though it serves also the purposes of rhythm. It corresponds, that is, to the division of the line made by the *cesura* in formal verse.³⁰

Classical and medieval rhetoricians often define the *comma* in distinction from the *colon*, as "a part of discourse consisting of two or more words which taken separately from the context have

³⁰ The part of a verse before or after the *cesura* is indeed sometimes called a *comma*; for instance, in the *Ars Rhetorica Olodiani* (Halm's *Rhetores Latini Minores*, p. 590).

no meaning”⁸¹ This is too narrow a restriction,⁸² but it serves to indicate the fact that division into commas is not always marked by phrasal or syntactic form. Often of course it is: we can tell often where the pause comes by the sense. But sometimes it is *purely* a melodic and rhythmic phenomenon, and the orator makes his pause in contravention or disregard of meaning merely from his habit of rhythmic and melodic utterance.

This briefly is the doctrine of the period, as it was formulated by the Greek and Roman orators, and as it is sure to reappear whenever oratorical prose is studied with the purpose of describing its form. It began to be neglected in the theory of the eighteenth century—though not in its practice,—and only a faint shadow of it now falls across the pages of our “College Rhetorics,” where it is unintelligently assumed that there is but one kind of period, namely, that in which the sense is suspended until the end, and this is opposed to the so-called “loose sentence,” which is called not-periodic. It would be interesting to trace the mistakes in theory and the evil results in practice that can be ascribed to this error, but this would lead us far away from our subject. We can only inquire here what the rhetoricians propose to do with the sentences of writers like Browne, South, Dryden, and Stevenson, which are characteristically “loose,” yet are always periodic in the proper sense, and often of course very beautifully so.

The modern opinion is summed up, in short, by the clear and sensible Blair, who devotes a considerable passage in his *Lecture XIII* to demonstrating the fine sense of the music of speech among the ancients, and adds: “I am of opinion that it is in vain to think of bestowing the same attention upon the harmonious structure of our sentences that was bestowed by these ancient nations.” Of the exact truth of this statement there can be no

⁸¹ So Martianus Capella, 39 (in Halm), and Aquila Romanus, 18 (ib.)

⁸² In some kinds of medieval style we often find successions of brief members, parallel in form and usually balanced in sound; they are characteristic, for instance, in the “rime-prose” of which so much has been written, and so little that is enlightening. Whether these are to be considered *cola* proper, or (merely on account of their brevity) *commata*, is hard to say, and some medieval theorists were evidently thrown into utter confusion in their use of the terms by this phenomenon. See, for instance, Hugo of Bologna (Rockinger, *Briefsteller u. Formelbücher*, p. 59.)

question. But the conclusion that has been drawn from it by more recent rhetoricians, namely, that the form of the period cannot be usefully studied at all, is far from being Blair's, and equally far from being sound. | The fact is that the neglect of this study has been due to the tendency to avoid the oratorical models on which all the theory of rhetoric is formed, and to consider prose chiefly as it is addressed to the intellect, rather than as language spoken and heard. | The characteristic prose of the nineteenth century has been the essay, rather than the address; and even in the eighteenth century, the great authority of the Addisonian model of style, especially as it was described in Blair's widely-used rhetoric, tended to outweigh the influence of Johnson, Gibbon, Burke, Robertson, and other writers of the latter part of the century, who wrote the more copious and sonorous language of oratory. It is natural that the exponents of such a style should lay more stress upon verbal propriety, grammatical precision, logical order, and the intellectual effects of prose than upon its rhythm and oral beauties. |

This is not the place to discuss the merits of the modern tendency. We only need to observe that it is accompanied, as all similar tendencies in ancient and modern times have been, by a decline in the study of formal rhetoric, and that the student of prose-cadence must therefore undo its effects upon his own mind in order to pursue his investigations with some hope of success. The prose that we should exclusively concern ourselves with in the present state of the subject of cadence is that which owes its form to the necessities and customs of public speech. For such prose is much more regular than essay-prose in its periodicity, and can be more successfully analyzed according to the theory which has been outlined in the preceding pages.

Let us take some examples, then, of prose of this kind from various ages of English literature, and attempt to illustrate the application of the theory of the period, and its relations to the occurrence of the cadences.

The English *Collects* themselves are the best possible *corpus* for such an experiment, first, because they fulfill ideally the conditions of an oral prose, and secondly, because they are made in close rhetorical imitation of Latin models in which the formal rules of the period were observed.

First, a very short and simply-constructed prayer, 2d Sun. aft. Ep., which we may arrange in parallel columns in order to illus-

trate the close parallelism of form between the Latin and the English:—

<p>Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui coelestia semper et terrena moderaris, supplicationes populi tui clementer exaudi, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus.</p>	<p>Almighty and everlasting God, who dost govern all things in heaven and earth; Mercifully hear the supplications of thy people, and grant us thy peace all the days of our life.</p>
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There are (after the address) three members, the middle one the longest, and in Latin (but not in English) subdivided into *commata*. There are therefore four opportunities for cadence in the Latin, three in the English. In Latin *cursus*-forms occur at all the four places; in English there is but one *cursus*-form, at the end of the second member (pl.²).

The Collect for the 4th Sun. aft. Ep. is more elaborate:—

Deus qui nos in tantis periculis constitutos,
 pro humana scis fragilitate non posse subsistere:
 da nobis salutem mentis et corporis,
 ut ea quae pro peccatis nostris patimur,
 te adjuvante vincamus.

O God,
 who knowest us to be set in the midst of so many and great dangers,
 that by reason of the frailty of our nature we cannot stand upright;
 Grant to us such strength and protection
 as may support us in all dangers,
 and carry us through all temptations.

Here there are five members, two in the protasis, three in the apodosis, the apodosis however not being actually longer in syllables than the protasis, because it is made up of shorter members. In Latin the figures are: protasis, 15 + 17; apodosis, 12 + 13 + 8; total, 65: in English, 20 + 18; 9 + 9 + 9; total, 65. The members of the apodosis are too short and unified to permit of division into *commata*, except the first Latin member. In the protasis, a division of the second member is indicated, by phrasal form, after *fragilitate* and *nature*; whereas the continuous flow of sense through the first member seems to preclude division, though perhaps a reader would in fact make a melodic and rhythmic pause after *midst of* in the English. Such arbitrary division will not, as we have already remarked, be found foreign to the custom of oral delivery. The

cadences at the points thus indicated are: in Latin, (1) *ve.*; (2) —, (3) *ta.*; (4) *pl.*¹, (5) *ta.*; (6) —, (7) *pl.*¹; in English, (1) *pl.*²; (2) *pl.*²; (3) *pl.*¹; (4) *pl.*¹; (5) *pl.*¹; (6) *ve.* (8-4-2).

We will take one more example from the Collects, the Sun. next bef. East.:—

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus,
qui humano genere ad imitandum humilitatis exemplum,
Salvatorem nostrum carnem sumere et crucem subire fecisti;
concede propitius,
ut et patientia ipsius habere documenta,
et resurrectionis consortia mereamur.

Almighty and everlasting God,
who, of thy tender love towards mankind,
hast sent thy Son, our Savior Jesus Christ,
to take upon him our flesh, and to suffer death upon the cross,
that all mankind should follow the example of his great humility;
Mercifully grant
that we may both follow the example of his patience,
and also be made partakers of his resurrection.

Clearly there are disputable points here, and I have interpreted the relations of the members differently in English and Latin. Accepting the reading I have indicated, we have six members in Latin, eight in English. In English the protasis has been considerably lengthened, and its earlier members (as I think) made shorter in consequence, for the purpose, that is, of holding back the arrival of the rhythmical climax until the last long member of the protasis. In Latin, there are nine opportunities for cadence, six occurrences of the *cursus*-forms, as follows:—(1) *trisp.*; (2) —, (3) *pl.*; (4) —, (5) *pl.*; (6) *ta.*; (7) *pl.*²; (8) *pl.*²; (9) *ve.* In English there are ten opportunities for cadence and three occurrences of the *cursus*-forms, as follows:—(7) *ve.* (9-5-3), (9) *pl.*², (10) *ve.* (8-4-2).³³

When we turn from the collects to secular prose we lose the guidance of a tradition of oral delivery. But we must still choose our examples from forms of style controlled more or less directly by oratorical models. Gibbon's historical style is of this kind. The following passage from chapter 49 illustrates the precision

³³ The development of more regularity of rhythm towards the end both of protasis and apodosis, as here, seems to be a common feature of the Collect usage.

with which his periods are constructed. (A greater length of member is to be looked for in a style not actually meant for recitation).

His treatment of the vanquished Saxons
was an abuse of the right of conquest;
his laws were not less sanguinary than his arms,
and in the discussion of his motives,
whatever is subtracted from bigotry, must be imputed to temper.
The sedentary reader is amazed by his incessant activity of mind and
body,
and his subjects and enemies
were not less astonished at his sudden presence
at the moment when they believed him at the most distant extremity
of the empire;
neither peace nor war,
nor summer nor winter,
were a season of repose;
and our fancy cannot easily reconcile the annals of his reign
with the geography of his expeditions.

The following list shows the form of cadence in each of the eighteen endings of this passage:— (1) 8-4-2, (2) 7-4-2, (3) 7-1, (4) 6-2, (5) 6-3, (6) 5-2, (7) 9-5-1, (8) 8-4-2, (9) 6-3, (10) 8-4-2, (11) 7-4-2, (12) 7-4?-2, (13) 3-1, (14) 5-2, (15) 5-1, (16) 6-3, (17) 5-1, (18) 9-6-4-2. It is surely significant that a passage, chosen only to illustrate typical periodic form, displays the *cursus*-forms in thirteen out of the eighteen positions (i. e., in all but 3, 7, 13, 15, and 17). The fact tends to confirm the opinion that the study of period and the study of cadence are intimately connected. |

For our last example we return to the period when English was often unconsciously-translated Latin. It is the dedication of Robert Southwell's *A Four-fold Meditation*,³⁴ written by its publisher or editor, and has been chosen at random, rather than on the merits of its style, in order to illustrate the suitability of a ceremonious style for the study in which we are engaged.

Sir; as I with great desire apprehended the least opportunity (6-3)
of manifesting toward your worthy self my sincere affection (7-4-2),
so should I be very sorry to present anything unto you (7-4-3, or
7-4-2, if *unto* is accented on *to*),
wherein I should grow offensive (7-4-2),

³⁴ 1606, repub. 1895.

or willingly breed your least molestation (5-2, or 7-4-2):
 but these meditations (5-2 being Divine and Religious (5-2)
 (and upon mine own knowledge (5?-2), correspondent to your zealous
 inclinations) (6-2)
 emboldened me to recommend them (8-4-2) to your view and censure
 (8-4-2),²⁵
 and therein to make known mine own entire affection (8-4-2?)
 and serviceable love towards you (8-4-2?)²⁶

In this passage there is hardly room for a reasonable doubt as to the occurrence of the pauses between the members; and in a great deal of the formal prose of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries we should find the same controlled, regular, and stately movement. The prose of this period of direct classical and medieval influence is chiefly distinguished as displaying, along with a comparative freedom from syntactic precision, a constant sense of the weight and length of rhetorical members. It is rhetorically construed, in short, rather than grammatically. Yet even in this prose, it must frankly be admitted, there are no laws governing the internal division of a period other than these of convenience and beauty. We may be sure that a science of the rhythmic period will never be discovered. And if it is true that even in our older prose, composed in the regular manner of the rhetorical tradition, we often find it necessary to defend by an appeal to personal preference our choice of this or that reading, it is certain that the reader will find an ever-widening range for the exercise of his artistic gifts of interpretation as he approaches the prose of our own time. For the tendency of modern prose is to conceal rather than reveal rhetorical pattern,—the more so of course as the custom of actual oral rendition grows more and more infrequent. The “phrasing” of many modern authors, therefore, is as difficult to interpret, compared with that of most authors of, say, the sixteenth century, as is that of a musician of a modern school when compared with that of the classicists who preceded Mozart and Haydn.

It is impossible, of course, to enter here into the details of this large subject. The passages analyzed above will serve to show in a general way the method by which we must proceed in studying

²⁵ See p. 37-8.

²⁶ The reader is requested to read the passage aloud in the manner appropriate to it before passing judgment on the cadence of the last two members, remembering also that *towards* is probably two syllables.

the occurrence of cadence. There is nothing to add except an indication of the results of this method in the case of the Collect cadences. For this purpose it will suffice to analyze the first twelve Sunday collects, beginning with the First Sunday in Advent. I find in these 65 opportunities for cadence, that is, ends of *cola* and *commata*,—an average of almost 5.5 to a collect. But this average is higher than it would be if all the collects were counted, because the prayers in this part of the year are longer than in the Trinity season. The general average would probably be about 4.5, or a little less than that.

Of these 65 endings, 40, or 61½%, prove to have *cursus*-forms, as we have now interpreted the English usage with regard to these. In order to offer an opportunity to the reader to test my readings, I subjoin all of these 40 endings, marking one or two as doubtful:—

1st Sun. in Adv.:

Cast away the works of darkness (8-4-2)^m
Visit us in great humility (9-5-3)
Glorious Majesty (6-3)
Rise to the life immortal (7-4-2)

2d Sun. in Adv.:

Written for our learning (6-2)
Grant that we may in such wise hear them (9-6-4-2)
Inwardly digest them (6-2)

3d Sun. in Adv.:

Who at thy first coming (6-2)
Prepare thy way before thee (6-2)?
Stewards of thy mysteries (7-3)
Hearts of the disobedient (8-5-3)

4th Sun. in Adv.:

Raise up (we pray thee) thy power (5-2)^m
The race that is set before us (7-4-2)
Thy bountiful grace and mercy (7-4-2)
Help and deliver us (6-3)

Sun. aft. Christmas Day:

Our nature upon him (5-2)

^m That *away* has not an accent is shown by the phrase *put upon us* in the parallel member that follows.

^m It may be thought that the member ends with *come among us* (*raise up* (*we pray thee*) *thy power*, and *come among us*); in that case the cadence is *velow* (7-4-2). The proper explanation is probably that both cadences count in the rhythmic effect. See p. 37-8, below.

Born of a pure Virgin (6-2)
 We being regenerate (7-3)
 Renewed by thy Holy Spirit (7-4-2)

1st Sun. aft. Ep.:

Thy people which call upon thee (7-4-2)

2d Sun. aft. Ep.:

Supplications of thy people (6-2)

3d Sun. aft. Ep.:

Look upon our infirmities (8-5-3)
 Dangers and Necessities (7-3)
 Help and defend us (5-2)

4th Sun. aft. Ep.:

So many and great dangers (6-2)^{**}
 The frailty of our nature (6-2)
 Always stand upright (5-2)
 Strength and protection (5-2)
 Support us in all dangers (6-2)
 Carry us through all temptations (8-4-2)

5th Sun. aft. Ep.:

Continually in thy true religion (10-6-4-2: tripondaic)
 Defended by thy mighty power (8-4-2)

6th Sun. aft. Ep.:

The works of the devil (5-2)
 Grant us, we beseech thee (6-2)
 Power and great glory (6-2)
 Eternal and glorious kingdom (5-2: but see pp. 43 and 44, below)

Septuagesima Sun.:

Lord, we beseech thee (5-2) .
 The prayers of thy people (6-2, or 5-2, according to the pronunciation of *prayers*)
 Punished for our offenses (7-4-2)
 Delivered by thy goodness (6-2)

II

The Unitary Phrase in Non-Final Positions

In all discussions of cadence in either Latin or English it has been assumed that the only appropriate places for its occurrence

^{**} The form of this ending is interesting because of the long syllable preceding the second accent. It produces an effect not unlike that of the classical Latin ending cretic-trochee (- υ - - υ). See other examples in this prayer and that for 6th Sun. aft. Ep.

are the final positions in the *cola* and *commata* of the period. I wish now to suggest, however, that it may also occur elsewhere, and that the euphony and flow that we hear in some kinds of prose is due to its occurrence in certain non-final positions as well as in the final ones. The positions meant are in a sense final, it is true, but they are not the ends of the parts of a period, as described above. They are independent of periodic structure. The principle may be stated as follows:—

The end of any phrase felt as having a unitary character may be cadenced, whether or not it coincides with the end of one of the divisions of a period.

Nearly all that needs to be said concerning this principle consists in explanation of the meaning of *unitary phrase*; and illustration will serve this purpose better than definition. Several types of the unitary phrase stand out as commoner than others.

1. A very simple type is that which consists of a noun preceded by its adjective. Examples:—

His glorious Majesty (1st Sun. in Adv.: ta.); an acceptable people (3d Sun. in Adv.: pl.); thy merciful guiding (5th Sun. aft. East.: pl.); O Heavenly Father (4th Sun. aft. Tr.: pl.); (we) thine unworthy servants (A Gen. Thanksg.: ve.); thy bountiful goodness (24th Sun. aft. Tr.: pl.); thy manifold mercies (A Prayer of Qu. Eliz., Blunt, p. 66: pl.).

2. More interesting is the phrase in which two words, often synonyms, are connected by *and*. Examples:—

Sundry and manifold (4th aft. East.: ta.); wills and affections (4th aft. East. pl.); almighty and everlasting (Tr., and *passim*: ve.); defended and comforted (3d aft. Tr.: ta.); bountiful grace and mercy (4th in Adv.: ve.); honour and glory (Ib., and *passim*: pl.); nature and property (*Deus qui proprium*, Blunt, p. 63: ta.); guided and governed (All Cond., Blunt, p. 65: pl.); sorts and conditions (Ib.: pl.); merits and mediation (12 aft. Tr.: ve.); eternal and glorious (6th aft. Ep.: ta.); goodness and loving-kindness (A Gen. Th., Blunt, p. 66: ve.); holiness and righteousness (Ib.: ta., 7–3); desires and petitions (St. Chrysostom: pl.).

3. The prepositional phrase, that is, a noun, adjective, or verb

* From an address frequently used: "Almighty and everlasting God," which translates *Omnipotens et sempiterna Deus*. After experiments by earlier translators, the authors of the 1549 Prayer-Book have succeeded in securing exactly the syllabic and accentual form of the Latin except that the word *God* takes the place of the two-syllabic *Deus*.

with a prepositional modifier following it, is an equally common form:—

Afflictions of thy people (Dearth and Famine: 6-2); prayers of thy people (Sept.: pl.); look upon thy people (Ib.: pl.); example of his patience (Sun. bef. East.: pl.²); the way of thy commandments (11th aft. Tr.: pl.²); abundance of thy mercy (12th aft. Tr.: pl.²); ordered by thy governance (5th aft. Tr.: 7-3); free from all adversities (22d aft. Tr.: 7-3).

A special case of type 3 is worthy of attention. In order to produce an equivalent of the amplitude of the Latin original the translators have frequently used phrases like the following: *the glory of the eternal Trinity* (10-5-3), *the fruition of thy glorious Godhead* (9-5-2), *the weakness of our mortal nature* (8-4-2), *protection of thy good Providence* (8-5-3), *serve thee in all godly quietness* (9-5-3), in all of which a prepositional phrase is expanded by giving an adjective to the noun which is the object of the preposition. The importance of such phrases in connection with the *velox* cadence has already been indicated in a former chapter. All of the passages just quoted do not, it is true, have the exact form of *velox*, even in the extended forms that we have agreed to recognize for that cadence. That they all produce the effect of *velox*, however, is a contention which cannot be justified here, but will be made clear in a succeeding chapter.

These three types of phrase have not been cited with the intention of making a complete list. They merely serve to show the character of the unitary phrase, and also perhaps that there is no difficulty in detecting the unitary character that distinguishes it. That it plays a rôle in connection with cadence can hardly be denied. In connection with the cadence of *final* positions, for instance, it has an importance that has not heretofore been explicitly recognized. Even in medieval Latin, where cadence is governed by prescriptive rules, the musical flow of the *cursus* ordinarily coincides with the syntactic flow of the phrase; but in English, which is without formal rules of cadence, it is obvious that the cadence-form would not be heard unless it fell within a syntactic unit. It cannot, as Latin sometimes can, bridge a gap of any considerable breadth.

We are now concerned, however, chiefly with the rôle of the cadenced unitary phrase in non-final positions, that is, within the colon or comma of a period. Some difficulties arise in applying the principle in this case. For we shall often be in doubt whether

the place where a unitary phrase ends is not also meant as the end of a comma, since the occurrence of such a phrase is in fact the commonest mark by which we detect the end of a cadenced division. But on the other hand there are many cases where there can be no doubt. For instance, in class 2 among the forms of the unitary phrase specified above, are included a number of the phrases so familiar to students of sixteenth and seventeenth century prose, in which two words connected by *and* are used instead of a single word, for the sake of vocal amplitude and beauty. The typical case is when the two words are exact synonyms, but even when they are not quite synonymous the phrase is often evidently a mere melodic unit. Such phrases are not likely to end a member, especially if the two words are adjectives or verbs. But since their purpose is chiefly or solely euphonic, there is an evident probability that they will have a rhythmic character. And in fact it will be found that they fall with surprising frequency within the forms of cadence that we are here studying.

The examples cited above from the Collects will serve to illustrate the point. But two illustrations from secular prose may be added to these. The first is from Raleigh's *History of the World*; and the whole sentence may be quoted because of its interesting rhythmic character. It is about the great conquerors of the world.

They themselves would then rather have wished to have stolen out of the world without noise, than to be put in mind that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression, and cruelty, by giving in spoil the *innocent and laboring* soul to the *idle and insolent*, and by having emptied the cities of the world of their ancient inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of sorrows.

Here the adjective phrase "innocent and laboring" adds greatly to the rhythmic effect of the whole passage; and the special reason for citing it is that its cadenced character is expressly indicated by its parallelism with the phrase that ends the following comma: "the idle and insolent." Both are *tardus*, the first 7 - 3, the second 6 - 3, and the parallelism is further indicated by alliteration.

The other example is from President Wilson's Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard in 1909. Of the college he says, in the midst of a long cadenced period, that "its courses are only its formal side, its *contacts and contagions* its realities." It is evident that the underlined cadenced phrase is not meant to be final.

There is no authority, as I have already observed, among modern theorists for including the non-final unitary phrase among the cadenceable elements of a sentence. Nor is it mentioned by the medieval theorists of the *ars dictaminis*. But in medieval *practice* there seems to be the authority of analogy and precedent. For a careful examination of the Latin collects will show that the cadences are used in fact with much greater frequency than the rules require, and in the medial positions we are now considering as well as in the final ones. To prove this at length would take us outside of our proper field. But a single case will serve at least to show that the point is worthy the attention of medievalists who deal with our subject, a case that has a special interest in the present discussion because it is paralleled, in part at least, as I will try to show, in English use.

In Latin there is often a slight pause before the verb in which a clause ends, due to the fact that in the suspended style which is characteristic of formal Latin discourse this verb has a closer connection with some earlier element in the clause (usually its object) than with the words that immediately precede it, these words often being phrases of a modifying character. Very often, it will be found, this pause before the final word of a colon is made the occasion of a *cursus*-ending, though it usually occurs within another cadence, namely, the final cadence of the colon. An example will make this curious overlapping of cadences clear.

Familiam tuam (pl.), quæsumus, Domine,
 continua pietate (ve.) custodi (pl.);
 ut quæ in sola spe gratiæ coelestis innititur (ta.),
 tua semper protectione (ve.) muniatur (trisp.: 11-8-6-4-2)
 5th Sun. aft. Ep.

Here the second member ends in a *planus*; but the first accent of this *planus* also serves as the final accent of a *velox* which ends the phrase *continua pietate*. The last member ends in a trispondaic (four trochees preceded by a dactyl); but the phrase *tua semper protectione* ends in a *velox*, which falls within the bounds of the trispondaic.

Other examples are:—

Quos in soliditate (ve.) tuæ dilectionis (ve.) instituis (ta.),
 2d Sun. aft. Tr.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ This example is interesting because it occurs at the end of the prayer.

Promissiones tuas,
quae omne desiderium superant (ta.) consequamur (ve.).

6th Sun. aft. Tr.

Quae pro nostra fragilitate (ve.) contraximus (ta.),
tua benignitate (ve.) liberemur (trisp.). 24th Sun. aft. Tr.*

Many other cases of the cadenced non-final phrase besides the one that has been described could be cited, and it would be easy to show that the rhythmic effect of many passages in the Latin Collects is chiefly due to it.⁴³ We need not, however, extend our inquiry further, since the case we have been considering will serve in English as well as in Latin to illustrate the importance of the non-final phrase. It is not to be expected that English would achieve the subtlety of interlaced cadence so often as Latin does. Yet even in this respect English usage will be found to offer interesting parallels to Latin, as in the following passages:—

That all things may be so ordered and settled (pl.) by their endeavors (ve.).
Prayer for Parl., Blunt, p. 64.

May evermore be defended (ve.) by thy mighty power (ve.: 8-4-2)
5th Sun. aft. Ep

Eternal and glorious (ta.) kingdom (pl.). 6th Sun. aft. Ep.

The successors of St. Peter and Constantine (ta.)
were invested with the purple and prerogatives (ta.: 7-3) of the
Caesars (ve.). Gibbon, chap. xlix.

The object of her own amazement (ve.: 8-4-2) and terror (pl.). *Ib.*, *ib.*

Tardus is a very rare ending for the final member; its occurrence here is probably due to the *velox* in the unitary phrase.

* Many examples will be found in the specimens of *proverbia* given by Joh. Anglicus in his *De Arte Prosayoa* (ed. Mari, pp. 889-892). This is a work of the thirteenth century. E. g., *a communione fidelium separari, veneno dulcedinis inquinatur*. This form, *tardus plus velox*, is the commonest form of the overlapping cadences.

* In order to show how pervasive the endings of the *cursus* form may be I add an analysis of the commonest concluding formula of the Collects: *Per Dominum nostrum* (pl.), *Jesum Christum* (trisp.), *qui tecum vivit et regnat* (pl.), *in unitate* (ve.) *Spiritus Sancti Deus* (ve.), *per omnia saecula* (ta.) *saeculorum* (ve.). In the body of a prayer such a minute subdivision would, of course, be impossible; but in a formula repeated often and with particular solemnity, all the rhythms would probably be heard, though in some repetitions some of them would be emphasized, in others, others.

We have appealed to their native justice (ve.) and magnanimity (ve.: 8-5-3). *Declar. of Indep. of the Am. Col.*

Deaf to the voice of justice (ve.) and of consanguinity (ve.: 9-5-3). *Ib.*

The long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action (pl.) and honor (pl.).

Woodrow Wilson, *Letter to the Pope*, Aug., 1917.

Its contacts and contagions (6-2) its realities (7-3).

Ib., Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard, 1909.

But it is not necessary for our purposes to insist upon the frequent occurrence of the interlaced cadences in English. A simpler case arising from the tendency to cadence a non-final unitary phrase will prove, however, to be worthy of consideration. It is the case, apparently fairly common, of the cadencing of a unitary phrase immediately before the end of a member *instead* of the end of the member itself. The unitary phrase thus takes the place of preference in cadencing over the final syllables of the member, and the latter serve the purpose of breaking cadence and bringing back the tone of utterance to the common level of unrhythmic speech. A striking example from the Prayer-book will make clear what is meant.

The last clause of *Deus, cui proprium est* (Blunt, p. 63) has the interlocked cadence we have described:—*Miseratio tuæ pietatis* (trisp.) *absolvat* (pl.). The English translation is: "Let the pitifulness of thy great mercy loose us." Here by great ingenuity the exact arrangement of accents and syllables in the original is preserved (not at all an uncommon achievement in the Collects), as far as the ends of the words *pietatis* and "mercy" ⁴⁴ (eleven syllables, accented thus: $\angle - - - - - \angle - -$, the strongest accent falling on the third syllable from the beginning). Thus the Latin trispondaic is preserved. But at the end the translators have departed from the form of the original. Apparently with purpose. For they needed only to use the word of the old translations, *assoil*, which was still in use, or the newer word *absolve*, which was well established, in order to continue the Latin pattern. But the cadence

⁴⁴ To show the process by which this result has been attained, the earlier translations may be quoted: "Late the merci of thi pitee assoile hem" (a fourteenth-century primer, repr. from a fifteenth-century MS., EETS. ed., p. 50); "The mercifulnesse of thi pitee asoile hem" (another fourteenth-century primer, ed. Maskell, qu. by Blunt, p. 64, n.).

of the phrase has been preserved, while that of the ending has not, and the effect produced is that the pause after "mercy" is lengthened, there is an abrupt break in rhythm, the words "loose us" are pronounced in a different tone, and the ear is brought back to the blunt style and the native words of plain prose.

A similar effect attained by the same means can be found very often in elevated English prose. In Gibbon, for example, it is so frequent as almost to constitute a mannerism, the peculiar fling of his irony being found in the words—added as if by an after-thought—that follow the cadenced phrase. For example, in Chapter 35 (the death of Jovian): "Dadastana was marked as the fatal term of his journey (pl.) and his life." Again, without the ironical tone: "The image of depopulation (ve.: 8-4-2) and decay." To these may be added an example from the American Declaration of Independence: "We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature (ve.) to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction (ve.: 8-4-2) over us"; and another from the Prayer-book: "In holiness and righteousness (ta.) all our days" (General Thanksg., Blunt, p. 66).

Just how frequent this form may be there is no way of determining. The reader's ear must determine. At all events it is one illustration of the many ways in which the unitary phrase occurs, and it is in this alone that its value consists for the present purpose.

The point urged in this section of my paper certainly does not tend to simplify the subject of cadence. It tends rather to blur and disarrange some of the definite lines that have been drawn about it heretofore. The same remark may be made, indeed, about the preceding section; for the doctrine of the period, though it seems to be the only trustworthy guide through the uncertainties of cadence-occurrence, is itself full of uncertainties, difficulties, and problems. But whatever complexities we have introduced into a theme that has been too simply handled arise from the effort to cope with the realities of the phenomena; and the errors that we are liable to when we do this are likely to be less serious than those that attend us when we trust too devotedly to trim arrangements and mechanical formulae.

Moreover, the principles we have discussed, in as far as they are sound, are evidently important. For they not only give us as much control through the study of the external phenomena of style

as we seem likely to secure in the present stage of the development of the subject; they are also necessary to account for the rhythmic effects which our ears report. That is to say, the careful student of the prose which has a markedly cadenced sound must be aware that this sound cannot be explained as due to the widely-separated endings studied, for instance, by Shelly in the Collects. It must be due to cadences that occur with sufficient frequency to produce a pervasive and characteristic effect.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Rules of English Oratorical Cadence

We now return to the consideration of the *form* of the cadence.

In Chapter Two I tried to show that the differences between the metrical customs of Latin and English and the differences between their vocabularies would result in a relaxation of the exact syllabic requirements of the Latin forms when they were transferred to English prose, and that the general tendency of these relaxations would be in the direction of a lengthening of the English cadences. Three examples of this were illustrated: First, the use of 7-3 as the equivalent of *tardus*; secondly, 8-4-2 as the equivalent of *velox*; thirdly, 8(9)-5-3 as the equivalent of *velox*.

These three forms were specified as being nearer to the Latin forms than any other possible variations, and as being the most frequent in English use. It is evident, however, that they are not the only possible ones. *Tardus* and *planus*, it is true, cannot be extended further without losing their character. But within the larger limits of *velox* there is greater room for the kind of freedom we have described; and the time has come for the consideration of its full results in connection with this cadence.

An objection is sure to arise, however, at this point, perhaps has already arisen during the previous discussion. If we are to vary so freely the form of the long cadence, we shall reduce the system of metrical scansion to an absurdity; at least the formula of medieval Latin, 7-4-2, will cease to be of any practical value for the study of English cadence. But this is an objection which we have foreseen and shall be glad to encounter. It is true that I do not think that the Latin formulæ will cease to be of any value to us. But the object of the whole discussion of English freedom in a preceding

chapter has been to show that the method of metrical scansion is unsatisfactory, when taken alone, in dealing with the English phenomena, and to prepare the way for the formulation of rules or principles of cadence which shall partly supplement and partly take the place of the formulæ of scansion. The study of exact metrical forms which we have been pursuing, and shall have to continue to pursue a little further, is largely for the purpose of laying a firm foundation for such rules or principles.

In the present chapter, therefore, I will first consider, as briefly as possible, the further possible variations of the form of the long cadence which result from its adaptation to English custom and conditions, and will then attempt to draw up a set of rules, governing all the cadences, short and long alike, which will again, I hope, reduce the manifold facts to comparative simplicity.

I

Further Variations of the Long Cadence

The departures from the Latin form of *velox* which may appear in English without changing its essential character—in addition to those already treated—fall into two classes, in both of which the second half of the cadence, that is, the part corresponding to the last four syllables of Latin *velox*, is chiefly concerned.⁴⁵

In the first class are forms in which the fall of accents in the second part is contrary to Latin rule. Two cases will include all the important forms.

(a) The first is that in which the two accents fall side by side, as in the forms $\bar{4} - \bar{3} - 2 - 1$, $4 - \bar{3} - \bar{2} - 1$. Latin of course knows no such clashing of accents; but the forms are familiar to students of Anglo-Saxon verse as examples of the third type in Sievers' classification. Accustomed as English ears are to them, they would feel that no violence was done to the beauty of *velox* by introducing one of them within its general outline or framework. There is a striking example, or rather two examples, of the form $4 - \bar{3} - \bar{2} - 1$ in a phrase of a Prayer of Qu. Elizabeth.⁴⁶: "All other thy

* *Velox* is properly a binary rhythm, with its accents on 7 and 2. The division here made use of is therefore justified only by its convenience for purposes of exposition.

⁴⁶ *Liturgies of Qu. Eliz.*, Parker Soc., p. 667; Blunt, p. 66, n.

benefits and great mercies (7-3-2) exhibited in Christ Jesus (7-3-2)." The form 4-3 appears in: "Those things which we ask faithfully" (8-4-3), 23d Sun. aft. Tr.; "The power of the Divine Majesty" (8 or 9-4-3). Tr. Sun.; "Almighty and most merciful (7-4-3) God," 20th Sun. aft. Tr.

(b) The more important case in class 1 is that in which the second part has an accent on the final syllable, that is, has one of the forms: 4-3-2-1̇, 4-3-2-1̇, 5-4-3-2-1̇, or even 6-5-4-3-2-1̇.⁴⁷ Some examples are: Purenness of living and truth (1st Sun. aft. Ep.); hope of thy heavenly grace (5th Sun. aft. Ep.); faithfully to fulfill the same (1st Sun. aft. Ep.); we may bring the same to good effect (Easter); thou dost put in our minds good desires (*Ib.*);⁴⁸ serve thee with a quiet mind (21st aft. Tr.); always most thankfully receive (2d Sun. aft. Ep.).

This form could also be copiously illustrated from Gibbon, who displays a fondness for ending a rhetorical period in which the weak or trochaic endings have been prevailingly employed with this masculine iambic one, as in the following sentence from Chapter XLIX:

His contemporaries of the fifteenth century (11-5-3)
were astonished at his sacrilegious boldness (10-4-2);
yet such is the silent and irresistible (8-5-3) progress of reason (pl.),
that before the end of the next age the fable was rejected (6-2)
by the contempt of historians and poets (6-2),
and the tacit or modest censure (ve.) of the advocates of the Roman
church (8-3-1).

The ending 4̇-3-2-1̇ has often been noted as a favorite in English. Saintsbury finds it very common; and Shelly has observed that it is more frequent in the Prayer-book than any other ending. Some critics therefore give it a place among conventional English endings, distinguishing it as a "native" ending in contrast with the Latin forms. It must in fact be recognized as having such a position in the theory of English cadence; but the point to be noted here is that it is often not to be treated as a complete ending in itself, but as falling into a place in the larger design of *velox*, the Latin ending, its first accent being lighter than the accent which

⁴⁷ Concerning the extension of the *length* of the second part shown in these latter forms, see below, p. 43.

⁴⁸ As in other cases that we have noted, so here the balance of members helps us to determine the cadence form intended.

precedes and thus marking itself as really the second and subordinate accent of a *velox*. Such cases have a peculiar interest as illustrating the process by which native customs reconcile and adapt themselves to a Latin tradition. There is a further interest also in the ending 7-4(3)-1 inasmuch as it brings an iambic movement into combination with the otherwise wholly trochaic inflections of the Latin cadences. I will speak of this point again a little further on.

The second class of variations of the long cadence consists of those in which the latter part is *lengthened* by one or more unaccented syllables between its two accents, or after its second, or in both these places. We have already seen that an additional light syllable may follow the *final* accent without impairing the rhythmic effect (8 or 9-5-3). It is here asserted that one or even two such additional syllables may follow also the light secondary accent which precedes the final accent. Of course this cannot happen without destroying the balance of the cadence unless its first period is also correspondingly lengthened. The changes of form here considered therefore result in a considerable lengthening of the whole cadence, bringing it up sometimes to eleven syllables.

Three cases will be illustrated:

(a). 5-2. Examples:—The fruition of thy glorious Godhead (9-5-2: Ep. Sun.); eternal and glorious kingdom (8-5-2: 6th Sun. aft. Ep.); a happy issue out of all their afflictions (9-5-2: All Cond. of Men); partakers of thy heavenly treasure (9-5-2: 11th Sun. aft. Tr.); the meritorious race of the Carlovingian princes (10-5-2: Gibbon, chap. 49); the leaders of a powerful nation (9-5-2: Ib., ib.); the pen of Laurentius Valla (Ib., ib.); left to our own proper resources (9-5-2: Scott, *Rob Roy*, chap. 3); a late and ungracious compliance (8-5-2: Ib., ib.); protection as well as amusement (8-5-2: Ib., ib.).

(b). 6-2. Examples:—By reason of the frailty of our nature (10-6-2: 4th Sun. aft. Ep.); mercifully to look upon thy people (11-6-2: 5th Sun. in Lent); those things which be profitable for us (10-6-2: 8th Sun. aft. Tr.); the contempt of historians and poets (9-6-2: Gibbon, chap. 49); the wealth of the palace of Ravenna (9-6-2: Ib., ib.).*

(c). 6-3. Examples:—Defended from the fear of our enemies (10-6-3: 2d Coll. for Peace, Evening Prayer); the leaven of malice and wickedness

* This form is often hard to distinguish from the trispondaic, the only difference being that in the latter there is an accent on 4 which does not appear here.

(9-6-3: 1st Sun. aft. Easter); graciously to behold this thy family (11-6-3: 1st Coll. for Good Friday); the revival of letters and liberty (10-6-3: Gibbon, chap. 49); the successors of St. Peter and Constantine (10-6-3: Ib., ib.); without apprehending the future danger (*velox*) these princes gloried in their present security (10-6-3: Ib., ib.).⁸⁰

Still other examples of the expanded cadence could be illustrated. For example, I think that English often uses *three* light syllables after the last accent, even when the earlier periods of the cadence are not proportionately long. English, being fond of retrocessive accent, has many words such as *difficulty*, *hospitable*, *revocable*, which are foreign to the spirit of Latin pronunciation, but lend themselves in English to such forms as 9-6-4, which seem very far away from the Latin forms. But we will not go into details. The three forms described are the most important illustrations of the kind of relaxation I have been discussing.

Before leaving them an objection which is certain to arise must be considered. Of the three forms described, the first, (a), apparently coincides in form with *planus*¹, the second with *planus*², the third with *tardus* in its Latin form 6-3. It may be said that in all the cases cited we have only examples of *planus* or *tardus* which happen to be preceded by a comparatively long period. But this is not the case; for the forms described seem to coincide with the forms of the short endings only because of the roughness of our method of notation. The difference is that when 5-2, for instance, is used to denote *planus*, there is a stronger accent on 5 than on 2, but when this formula is used to indicate, as in the above examples, the latter part of *velox*, this relation is reversed, and the accent on 5 is lighter than that on either 8(9) or 2; for, as we have already said and as we shall have occasion to bring out more clearly a little further on, the second accent in *velox* is subordinate and even non-essential. The test then by which we may determine in a given case whether one of the forms described constitutes a complete cadence in itself or is part of a *velox* is to be found in the relation of its accents to each other.

⁸⁰ The balance of members in the last example serves to show the point at which cadence begins in the second member.

II

The Rules of Cadence

But we have now reached the point, foreseen at the beginning of this section, where it is useless or confusing to continue the study of particular metrical forms. When *velox* may vary in length from seven to ten, or even more syllables, and its later accents move about as freely as we have been asserting they may, the method of scansion becomes absurd. It is true that a table might still be made of the forms that produce the required effect, and those that do not, but it is far simpler to state general rules which will allow for all the varieties of forms that we have discovered.

I have already said that the rules can be framed so as to include all of the forms of cadence, *planus* and *tardus* as well as *velox*. They are in fact meant (as will be seen) to reveal that these three are only varieties of a single rhythmic effect. However, I think that there is reason to observe a general distinction between the long cadence (related to *velox*) and the short cadence (related to *tardus* and *planus*), because they are sometimes differentiated in English use. In certain kinds of style more copious and elaborate in form, the long cadence is characteristic; in others, in which shorter members and shorter phrasing prevail, the short cadence is very common, but the long one comparatively infrequent. Gibbon is a good example of the former; Macaulay of the latter. As regards their form, however, the long and short cadences are not essentially different except in the matter of length, as the rules will show.

The rules, then, are as follows:

1. The English cadence ordinarily begins on one of the syllables five to ten, counting from the end. It never begins later than the fifth, but sometimes the long cadence may begin as far back as the eleventh syllable, as in 11 – 7 – 3, or even on the twelfth, as in 12 – 8 – 4. These are, however, extreme cases.

2. The first accent is the strongest in the cadence, as marking its beginning. It is the climax as to height of pitch and strength of accent of the member in which the cadence occurs, and indicates the point at which the tendency to rhythmical form always observable in oratory, but restrained earlier in the phrase by the necessities of logical statement, is finally allowed to appear without check. It

marks the moment of release of the rhythmic impulse which is half the secret of our delight in oratorical performance.

3. At this point a trochaic movement begins which carries through to the end of the phrase and cadence. The trochaic movement of the English cadence is alone enough to mark the influence of the classical cadences upon it, for it is not the nature of English prose, except under this influence, to keep to the same movement (rising or falling) throughout a phrase. It inclines to shift from one to the other, and perhaps prefers, on the whole, to end in a rising movement rather than a falling one.

Of course there is a striking exception to this rule in the case of the long cadence ending in 4 - 1 (or 3 - 1 or 5 - 1), which has been discussed above. But even in this case the first part of the cadence is enough to give it a general trochaic character, and a cesura can usually be detected at the point where the rising movement begins.

4. Each cadence has two accents, of which the first is stronger than the second, and is followed by a greater number of unaccented syllables, or by an equal number of syllables which makes the *effect* of being greater, than the second. Stated differently, this law is that there is an effect of decreasing length of period and strength of accent from the beginning of a cadence to the end. This is the most important of the five rules, and gives the clue to the character of all English prose cadence. The effect due to a three, four- or five-syllable period followed by a two-syllable one, or of four syllables followed by three, seems to be constantly heard in all prose that is euphoniously and flowingly written.

The long cadence is covered by this law as well as the short ones, as will appear from the next rule, namely :

5. If the number of syllables following an accent exceeds three a secondary subsidiary accent appears. This rule applies in practice only to the period of the first accent because if the second period contained more than four syllables it could not seem shorter than the first (see rule 4) ; that is, this rule explains the form of the long cadence. In the discussion of this cadence I have sometimes spoken as if it consisted of three parts, a longer and two approximately equal shorter parts. This has been done, however, only for convenience of description. Some writers seem, in fact, to think of it as having this character. But in this they are mistaken. *Velox* in Latin is a binary rhythm, the accent on 4 being only of importance

as serving to prop up or carry on the long run of syllables between the accent on 7 and the accent on 2. The strength of the accent on it may vary from almost nothing to almost that of the final period. But it must never be actually as strong as this, because if it were so the effect of the undulating, long first period, which gives its character to *velox*, would be lost. Exactly the same principle applies to the long cadence in English. Like the short cadences it consists of two periods, a longer and a shorter.

It is in the placing of the subsidiary accent that the characteristic freedom of English usage comes into play. In Latin, of course, it always comes on the second syllable before the final accent; but in English its place depends upon the length of the first period, which may, with the help of this subsidiary accent, contain as many as eight syllables, and by considerations of euphony and convenience.

Heretofore I have assumed that the subsidiary accent must fall nearer to the second main accent than to the first, *i. e.*, if the whole cadence has the form 8 - 2, the subsidiary accent must fall either on 4 or 5, if it has the form 7 - 2, on 4 or 3; and this is the usual and regular case. However, I am not sure that English would always exact such fidelity to principle; 7 - 5 - 2 seems to occur occasionally with the effect of a long cadence; but, of course, the accent on 5 is very light.

III

The Theory of the Rules

Some concluding observations must be made about these laws, chiefly in order to show the effect of passing over from the method of scansion to the method of more general description. The phenomena described in the scansion method with which this paper began are not different from those covered by the laws. They are included in them. If the rules are observed with the utmost simplicity and brevity the Latin forms necessarily result, the differences between the three being merely due to the differences in their length, that is, the difference between beginning to cadence on the fifth, sixth, or seventh syllable from the end. If they are observed with the utmost freedom allowable to English rhythmical custom, they still produce cadences which have the essential rhyth-

mical—though not the exact metrical—character of these three Latin cadences.

There is, therefore, no opposition between the results obtained from the two methods of studying English cadence. As to the practical question, which of the two is to be preferred in the further study of the subject, no definite answer can be given, and none needs to be given at present. At the stage which the subject has now reached, it seems necessary to use both, to carry them along side by side. For in the various specimens of cadenced prose which properly come under our observation, and even in various passages within the same specimen, we shall find illustrations of an almost Latin regularity side by side with illustrations of the full play of the English freedom, and of almost every possible stage between these two extremes. If Gibbon, for instance, is nearly always precise in his cadencing, Newman, on the other hand, avoids pattern, and is now almost as regular as his medieval models, now as free as his sense for the form of English prose will allow him to be.

But the value of the rules does not lie wholly in the fact that they cover the English phenomena as the metrical formulæ alone cannot do. They may prove also to open the way to a simplification of the problem of English cadence. I have already remarked, in stating the rules, that one of them, the fourth, has an importance altogether out of proportion with the others. This is the rule that a cadence consists of two accentual periods, of which the first is longer and carries a stronger accent than the second, or, stated more generally, that there is decreasing length of period and strength of accent from the beginning to the end of the cadence. Its importance consists in the fact that it states the general *character* of the English oratorical cadence—the nature of its movement in all the various particular forms of it that we have studied. The others chiefly state the limits of space within which this principle operates, or some necessary consequences of its application. But this principle taken alone, if it is a correct description of the facts, reduces all the varieties of cadence-form to a single psychological, or, better, physiological, law of movement.

There is an article by Zielinski, less known than his other writings on Latin prose rhythm, in which he has studied the “psychological bases” of the Ciceronian clausules. The most authoritative

scholar in the field of prose-rhythm has here shown with practical conclusiveness—and with an even unnecessary elaboration of technical procedure—that there is in the Ciceronian clausule, whatever metrical forms it assumes, a single structural principle, “that it has no merely schematic significance, but an eminently psychological one; it was in fact—I repeat—a definite single thing in the consciousness of the orator, held together by understood principles of resolution” (i. e., resolution of a long syllable into two short ones).⁵¹ And on the basis of this conclusion Zielinski suggests that investigators may proceed in the discovery of the laws of rhythm in the various modern literatures. The conclusion which we have now reached in the present discussion has not been founded upon this hint from Zielinski.⁵² It agrees, however, exactly with his conclusion concerning classical Latin cadence, and this fact may be accepted as evidence in favor of its soundness.

Zielinski has not attempted to describe “the psychological (or, as I prefer to call it, physiological) significance” of the cadence at all fully. He draws up, however, a formula which he calls the “Integration-clausule,” a single metrical formula which includes all the three types of Ciceronian cadence. It is this:

- ̄ - | - ̇, -, ̇, . . .

Each comma in this formula indicates a point at which a cadence may end, the first the end of *planus*, the second of *tardus*, the third of *velox*.⁵³ In short, the meaning of this formula is that all the clausules consist of (1) a base, which is always a cretic (or molossus), and (2) a trochaic cadence.⁵⁴

Base plus cadence: this formula has an evident kinship with the principle we have here arrived at, namely, the principle of decreas-

⁵¹ Th. Zielinski, *Der Rythmus d. röm. Kunstprosa*, in *Archiv f. gesamte Psychol.*, VII, 134 (1906). The same point is established in his well-known work: *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden: Grundzüge einer oratorischen Rhythmik*, Leipzig, 1904.

⁵² I regret that I had not read Zielinski's paper until I had already formulated my own practically as it stands.

⁵³ The reader must be referred to a careful study of Zielinski's paper for the explanation of the dots in this formula, and of certain other difficulties.

⁵⁴ Of course it is not apparent in the metrical scheme that the second part of *tardus* (- ̇ - | - ̇ -) is a *trochaic* cadence. But Zielinski considers this as having the effect of a trochee-and-a-half. See p. 129 of his article.

ing length of period and strength of accent from the beginning to the end of a cadence, the difference between the two being due to the fact that in a quantitative language the first period (cretic) has a somewhat different character from that which it has in a purely accentual system. It is, in fact, a level "base," after which cadence or fall begins. In English, on the other hand, it cannot be exactly that, and cadence or fall starts from the beginning of the movement—from the first (that is the accented) syllable of the first period. But we need not go so far as English to find this departure from the classical Latin formula of Zielinski. Medieval Latin already shows exactly the English principle of decreasing length of period and strength of accents. That is, with no other change than from quantitative to accentual meter the difference between the Latin and the English principle is explained.

English, however, goes one step further than medieval Latin. It adopts the principle alone as the essential feature of its cadence. That is, it abandons all metrical prescription, and aims only at achieving the kind of *movement* characteristic of classical and medieval cadence. It has had the "integration-clausule" alone in its consciousness, but not the individual forms that it represents. It therefore reveals more clearly the character of the integration-clausule than either classical or medieval Latin, and if our analysis of its phenomena has been correct we may hope to push further than Zielinski has done the explanation of the physiological law which underlies it. There is a danger, it is true, in thrusting forward speculative theory at a time when the facts are still in need of verification. But at least the theory which I shall explain will have the merit of making clearer than it perhaps has been up to this point what is meant by the principle of decreasing length and strength.

The physiological explanation of verse is to be found in the dance in which it originated. In the dance the regularity of the beats is the means by which energy is artificially maintained at a uniform level, higher than that of the ordinary human occupations and movements. In the same way in poetry the regularity of accent stimulates the energy of utterance, which always tends to flag and die away, and keeps it at an artificial height throughout a line or a stanza. And, of course, this energy of utterance accompanies, interprets, stimulates energy of emotion. Prose, on the other hand,

even oratorical prose, cannot, does not aim to, move uniformly on this high level. Its foundation is laid on the basis of common and matter-of-fact speech: instead of forcing the physiological processes to adapt themselves to it, it yields and adapts itself to them. It rises constantly at certain points above the level of mere logical or matter-of-fact speech, heightening the intensity of its utterance to indicate the occurrence of these points, but it at once begins to fall away again toward it as the breath begins to fail, and the energy of utterance fails with it.

Cadence, then, is perhaps the euphonious way of accompanying in speech this natural fall or subsidence of energy. The particular forms of it that prevailed in Latin are the best and simplest ways of doing this; the principle we have been discussing describes collectively all the ways of doing it. Perhaps we may go further, and find in the overlapping, or interlocking, of cadences of which we have spoken the impulse to protract this fall by partial successive renewals of the energy of utterance. Doubtless, indeed, an infinite variety of effect may be obtained by the ways in which this principle will interplay with the forms of words, the varieties of phrasal form, the varying demands of expression, the laws of balance and variation, and so on; and the varieties of style in different authors and different passages may be analyzed in terms of this interplay with useful results. But it is not our purpose here to touch these more difficult parts of the subject.

A final point should be mentioned, though it cannot be discussed fully. We have been proceeding in this paper on the assumption that the laws of English cadence have been determined by imitation of Latin models. Is this a safe supposition? Is it true that the cadencing customs described in our five principles of cadence have been arrived at by a gradual relaxation, in accordance with the characteristic freedom of English use, of the metrical schemes handed down by medieval tradition from antiquity? Since we have drifted so far from these actual metrical schemes in following the facts of English practice, is it not safer to assume that the rules merely describe a necessary and universal tendency of oratorical style, and that the frequent occurrence in English of the exact metrical form of the Latin *cursus* is due, not to medieval tradition, but to the fact that these forms are the perfect and simplest manifestation of this tendency?

Several strong reasons could be urged in favor of the theory of direct Latin influence on which we have been working as a hypothesis. For instance, the mighty part played by the Collects themselves, in which this influence can hardly be denied, in fixing the form of elevated prose at a time when it was still fluid and indeterminate, is in itself a consideration of great weight. But we need not now argue the point. For, even though the cadence of English were to be regarded as chiefly an independent development from the mere nature of oratory itself, yet the best approach to the knowledge of it would still be the theory and practice of the ancients, classical and medieval, because they regularized oratorical cadence in its most typical forms, and because they were exactly aware of their procedure, described it, and even to some extent, theorized it. In English, on the other hand, cadence has always, in the first place, been more irregular than in Latin, and subject to whimsical, individual preference, or even to the deliberate intention to break rhythm noticeable in many authors.⁵⁵ And, in the second place, it is not apparent that either the theory of cadence or its forms have been known to any English author; and those who have practiced it have either been controlled by an undefined feeling for the oral beauty of style, or else (as we have here assumed) by a tradition which was transmitted from Latin to English during the formative period of English prose style.

Of course, there is also the possibility that we have misread the facts. We may have been deceived in our study of the English phenomena by a pre-determined belief in their similarity to those of medieval Latin. Even the unifying principle at which we have finally arrived may prove to be vitiated by the same error. This is a doubt which, of course, haunts all who study this subject with an open mind. But the question must now be left to the tests which future students of the subject may apply to our argument. It is to be hoped that they will be thorough enough to lead to some definite conclusions and place the subject of English cadences finally on a sound basis.

⁵⁵ With regard to this point, however, it should be observed that some Latin authors did the same thing; Tacitus, for instance.

CHAPTER FIVE

In what kinds of prose must we look for cadence?

At best it must be recognized that we are still only in the fringes and outward edges of the subject of prose cadence, and even though the conclusions we have arrived at should prove to be generally sound there are many difficult questions which await solution. With regard to the form of the English cadence there is no doubt that investigations conducted by a different method from ours will cause some modifications in the principles we have stated. And as regards its occurrences all that has hitherto been said must be regarded rather as indicating the method of study than as solving the problems. How do variations in the construction of a period affect its cadences? What effect do other rhetorical ornaments, such as balance, have upon the method of employing them? And what interactions can be discovered between them? Why do all authors cadence more regularly and euphoniously in some passages than in others? In some parts of a paragraph than others? And, to mention the largest question last, in what kinds of prose style are we justified in looking for the conventional kind of cadence, in what kinds are we not?

It is this last question alone that I will consider for a moment, and only in its most general aspect.

There has been a general tendency among students of prose-rhythm in English to seek for some principle of universal applicability. It is assumed that a rhythmic law may be found which will explain all the prose which has literary character or beauty, that artistic prose as such has within it a principle of rhythm. The examples chosen for experiment are, therefore, representative of the most various kinds of prose-writing, from Gibbon's to Lamb's, from Gladstone's to Pater's, and there is even a marked disposition to choose them from writers of the most subtle or individual literary quality, such as De Quincey, Coleridge, Ruskin, Stevenson, and Pater, rather than from those who are most conventional and regular in their style. It would seem, indeed, that the farther prose has departed from its normal character, the more literary and non-oral it has become, the more attractive it has been to the investigators.

Judged by its results, however, this method must be declared to be at present in a state of bankruptcy. According to one student, the only law is the law of variability. According to another, prose rhythm is a subjective phenomenon, an effect unconsciously read into every passage of prose by the reader's natural love of rhythm, and otherwise not found there. Either of these results is equivalent to an acknowledgement that the principle sought for has not been found.

The method followed by those who begin from the study of Greek and Latin conventionalized cadence is wholly different from this. They do not postulate the existence of a natural and universal law of prose-rhythm inherent in prose as such. They proceed, on the contrary, on the assumption that prose as such is without rhythmic law, and that it becomes rhythmic only as it is submitted to the control of some convention, a convention ultimately determined by particular customs of oral delivery. That is to say, all rhythm in prose is finally due, however subtle its variations may become, to certain regulated customs which have originated in the relations between a public speaker and his audience. The customs are undoubtedly rooted in universal facts concerning the powers of attention and the sensational susceptibilities of a crowd; and they may arise, therefore, independently in different times and places and languages. But when we consider how long a practice is necessary for their successful conventionalization into forms of art, when we remember further that they are inseparably bound up with a whole system of rhetoric, with the form of the rhetorical period, and the balances of parts within it, and with a certain kind of vocal delivery, we find ourselves less willing to reject the theory of the transmission of the laws of cadence by a steady current of tradition from the beginning of Greek oratory to the present day.

Now, it is evident that those who hold to this latter method of study will prefer, in the first place, to talk of the *cadence* of prose, rather than of its *rhythm*; for those who talk of *rhythm* are almost certain to think of regularities of recurrence, and of a movement running throughout the clauses and sentences of discourse, whereas Latin and English cadence is merely a euphonious fall, and occurs only before certain pauses and at the ends of certain unitary parts of a sentence.

In the second place, they will narrowly limit their investigations to prose of an oratorical character. Of course they will not disre-

gard the possibility—the probability, indeed, we may call it—that the form of every kind of normal artistic prose is ultimately oratorical. They hope, in fact, that by establishing the forms of oratorical euphony as definitely as possible they will be proceeding the directest way toward an explanation of the more subtle and literary forms of prose-cadence. But they recognize also that the process is bound to be gradual and slow. For practical purposes there is a gulf fixed between the kind of prose in which the oratorical tone can be clearly heard and those various kinds which we may roughly describe as essay-prose, and the latter should not be used at all in the effort to determine the elements of cadence.⁵⁶

What is meant then by prose of an oratorical character? Of course, not only oratory in the limited sense, that is, prose meant to be spoken before a public audience. There is a great deal of good prose in English that falls under this caption. But there are also many kinds of writing not actually meant for public speaking in which the style is plainly formed in the mould of a conventional oratorical tradition. These kinds of writing are not peculiar to certain *genres* or types of prose; they may appear even in some works that are conventionally known as essays, just as some essays are actually entitled addresses or sermons. Unfortunately we are often compelled to decide by nothing but the form of the style itself. But this is a difficulty which cannot be avoided.

Yet the observation of *genres* is not altogether unprofitable. Works of certain literary types are on the whole more likely to display the oratorical manner than others. Oratory itself—sermons, addresses, political speeches, and so on—is evidently one of these. Most closely allied to it are various kinds of formal and ceremonious prose, such as dedications, “open letters,” formal addresses to the readers of a book, proclamations, manifestos, and so on. The style of history as it was formerly written was often oratorical, as was Gibbon’s, Robertson’s, Macaulay’s, for example; and, probably under the influence of historical writing, some novels and romances, among them Scott’s, constantly betray the same stylistic character.

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⁵⁶ There are exceptions, however. Sir Thomas Browne, like his master Seneca, was fond of the cadences of oratory, and a profitable study of his form might be made by one who should be capable of interpreting the subtleties of a great master in variations.

THE MIRACLE PLAY IN ENGLAND

SOME RECORDS OF PRESENTATION, AND NOTES ON PRESERVED PLAYS

BY GEORGE R. COFFMAN

At the close of a recent paper, in which I made a critical inquiry as to the actual use of the term Miracle Play in England from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, and in which I pointed out (1) that even records of popular usage do not justify the sweeping assertions of modern historians of the drama and (2) that the official records never employ the term Miracle Play in their references to cyclic plays or independent religious plays of any kind, I made the following statement:¹

“An examination of the records for references to Miracle Plays in England shows that they were presented in different parts of the country during the whole period from the thirteenth to the close of the sixteenth centuries.²

“In other words, during the time that these ‘popular’ references which we have considered were being made, actual Miracle Plays were being presented all over England. Hence we should expect to find mention of them.”

The traditional attitude regarding the saints’ plays presented in England during the later middle ages is well summarized in a footnote of a recent, revised edition of Pollard’s *English Miracle Plays*:³

“The *Ludus de Sancta Katherina* at Dunstable, pageants on the subject of the lives of St. Fabyan, St. Sebastian, and St. Botulf, performed in London, plays at Windsor and Bassingbourne on St. George, and the *Ludi Beate Christinae*, at Bethersden, Kent, are the only Miracle Plays, in the scientific use of the term, of which I find mention of the performance in England, and none of these, unfortunately, now survive.”

¹ *The Miracle Play in England—Nomenclature, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XXXI (1916), pp. 448-465.

² The *terminus ad quem* should have been approximately 1563, the period of final establishment of the power and influence of the Church of England, and that of the passing of the cult of saints.

³ Alfred W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes*, Oxford, 1914 (sixth edition, revised).

Mr. Baskervill, in the course of a masterly treatment of romantic plays in England,⁴ does suggest the point of view of students who are now making a careful and intensive study of the English drama, during this period. After naming a brief list of saints for whom we have records of plays, he says: "Such entries seem to me extremely significant as probably typical of many towns where from time to time saints plays or Miracles of the Virgin were given." But there is at present no such separate, classified list of saints' plays produced in England during this period.

In view of the foregoing facts, I propose in this brief paper to list an initial body of records of presentation of Miracle Plays in England, and to add some notes on Miracle Plays completely or partially preserved. That this list might be increased now or may be increased during the next few years by students who have wider access to original documents, I am very confident. The citation of sources below will indicate that I have had to rely largely on the appendices to volume two of Chambers,⁵ a valuable surface mine for this purpose. In these pages I shall not discuss the loss of manuscripts,⁶ a fact of tremendous importance in helping to

⁴ C. R. Baskervill, *Some Evidences for Early Romantic Plays in England*, *Modern Philology*, vol. xiv, p. 478.

⁵ E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, vol. I-II, Oxford, 1903. My point of view in this bit of research is indicated in Mr. Manly's summary of a lecture in which he had presented evidence as to the widespread loss of manuscripts of all kinds of religious plays during the English Reformation: "The absence of manuscripts of Miracle Plays is not at all surprising; and it is by no means to be interpreted that there were no Miracle Plays in England or that they died early. We have plenty of evidence that they were played from the twelfth to the sixteenth century."

⁶ The following well-known passage from Bale, referring to loss of manuscripts during the English Reformation (John Bale—*Preface to Reader to John Leland's Laborious Journey*, etc., ed. W. A. Copinger, 1895, pp. 18-19), is pertinent here: "Neuer had we bene offended for the losse of our lybraryes, beyng so many in nombre, and in so desolate places for the more parte, yf the chiefe monumentes and moste notable workes of our excellent wryters, had bene reserued. If there had bene in euery shyre of Englande, but one solemayne lybrary, to the preseruacyon of these noble workes, and preferment of good lernynge in oure posteritye, it had bene yet sumwhat. But to destroye all without conyderacyon, is and wyll be vnto Englande for euer, a moste horryble infamy amonge the graue senyours of other nacyons. A greate nombre of them whych purchased

explain the comparative scarcity of records of saints' plays, which were dramas for special occasions and not preserved as carefully as Corpus Christi plays, which were often filed as official documents; 'I shall not discuss the widespread popularity of the cult of saints during this period, as evidenced in such aspects as saints'

those superstycyouse mansyons, reserued of those lybrarye bokes, some to serue theyr iakes, some to scoure theyr candelstyckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they solde to the grossers and sope sellers, and some they sent ouer see to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons. Yea, the unyuersytees of thys realme, are not all clere in this detestable fact. But cursed is that bellye, whyche seketh to be fedde with suche vngodly gaynes, and so depelye shameth hys natural contreye. I knowe a merchaunt man, whych shall at thys tyme be namelesse, that boughte the contentes of two noble lybraryes for XI. shyllinges pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. Thys stuffe hath he occupyed in the stede of graye paper by the space of more than these X. yeares, and yet he hath store ynough for as many yeares to come. A prodygyuose example is this, and to be abhorred of all men which loue their nacyon as they shoulde do." With this connect Mr. Copinger's comment (*ibid.*, pp. xx-xxi): "How little the MSS. of the religious houses were cared for may be gathered from the contemptuous way in which they were referred to in the accounts. 'Old books in the choir 6d.;' 'old books in the vestry sold to Robert Dorington 8d.;' 'old books and a cope in the library 2s.;' 'a flat chest with five books in it 8d.;' 'a mass book with its desk 8d.' These are samples of the sale of MSS. which would now be regarded as of immense value. Very few, indeed, are the service music books preserved; yet it has been estimated by a very good authority that at the time of the dissolution there must have been not less than a quarter of a million service books, such as antiphonals, graduale, ordinale, missals, etc., in the various churches."

A survey of the records of presentation of plays compiled by Chambers, volume two, appendices, indicates a wholesale loss of all kinds of dramatic productions. Then, as to preserved documents of an earlier period, only a "fortunate accident," the fire which destroyed the borrowed copes, occasioned any record of the Dunstable St. Catherine play. The Hildesheim St. Nicholas plays are bound up in a manuscript containing medical prescriptions; and the Einsiedeln fragment of the St. Nicholas scholars' play is bound up as the fly leaf of another manuscript. And to mention another field of literature, only chance saved the *Beowulf* from the fire in 1731 which destroyed the Cottonian MSS.

'A case in point here is that of the York plays. There is only one manuscript of this cycle. That even one is preserved is due to the fact that the city authorities had control of the plays, and that a copy had to be deposited with them.

legends,⁸ patron saints of gilds and other organizations as well as of churches and monasteries,⁹ and pilgrimages to saints' shrines,¹⁰ —all of which would tend to substantiate a theory as to the popularity of the cult which was the occasion of our type of drama; and, finally, I shall not discuss pageants on saints' days, saints' pageants in connection with Corpus Christi or other official processions, saints' ridings or mummings, or plays on saints' days in which the references are at all vague and uncertain.¹¹ These and related matters I hope to treat later in a more comprehensive paper.

Since the place and date of records of Miracle Plays are the important facts for our purpose, I shall list them first in order in the following compilation of data.

Bedfordshire, Dunstable c. 1119 St. Catherine.

"(Gaulfridus) legit igitur apud Dunestapliam
expectans scholam Sancti Albani sibi repromissam, ubi
quendam ludum de Sancta Katerina (quem miracula
vulgariter appellamus) fecit."¹²

Cambridgeshire, Bassingbourne July 20, 1511 St. George.

⁸ Mr. Gerould (G. H. Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, 1916, p. 305) at the close of a comprehensive chapter on Saints' Legends in England from the Conquest to the Reformation writes: "It will be evident, I think, that to men of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries legends were regarded not only as an important branch of literature, but as indispensable food for the intellect and emotion of all estates." He emphasizes the popularity of this type by pointing out that the total number of middle English saints' legends is considerably greater than the total number of romances.

⁹ Relative to patron saints of gilds, Toulmin Smith has the following footnote to the Gild of Smiths of Chesterfield (*English Gilds*, E. E. T. S., p. 168, note): "This Gild seems to have had no patron saint. Among the records of at least six hundred early English gilds that have come under my careful review I have rarely found this absence, save in some of the Gilda-Merchant."

¹⁰ Chapter three of Jusserand (*English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*), Pilgrims and Pilgrimages, forms an excellent beginning for such a study. It is significant that Chaucer's *magnum opus* has as its background such a pilgrimage.

¹¹ These constitute a much larger bulk of references than I am listing below.

¹² Matthew Paris, *Vitae Abbatum St. Albani* (London, 1684), p. 1007; Coffman, *A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play* (Banta, 1914), p. 5 and Chapter VI; Chambers II, 366.

"A Play 'of the holy martyr St. George' was held in a field at Bassingbourne, July 20, 1511."¹²

Carnarvon, Bangor

?

St. Tewdricus.

From mss. of Reginald Cholmondeley:

"From Quarto on the flyleaf is the Note: "Nov. 9, 1701. Dr. Humphreys, Bishop of Bangor, gave me this book."

"'A Latin play with the title Sanctus Tewdricus sive Pastor bonus, Rex et Martyr, in 9 scenes composed respectively by Richard Simons, William Perry, Richard Smith, Frances Simons, Daniel Gifford, Henry Chamberling, Charles Peeters, Thomas Beveridge, and Nicholas Tempest.' The personages are St. Tewdricus, Maurice, King of the Silures, and Arthur his brother, and Malcolm and Ulfadus, *Mauricio et Arthuro chori proceres*. At the end is a song with music, by Beveridge. The title page was written by Henry Matthew Chamberling."^{12a}

Chester

1529

Robert of Sicily

"In this class (miracles), we may also include a lost play on King Robert of Sicily. It is based on a story from *Gesta Romanorum* of a monarch who, for his over-proud consciousness of power, is punished by an angel assuming his shape and dignity, while he is in his bath. This play was acted at Lincoln in 1453; on the occasion of a performance of Kynges Robert of Cicylye at Chester, in 1529, we learn from a letter addressed from that town to a gentleman in the royal court, that the piece was 'penned by a godly clerke' and had previously been acted in the reign of Henry VII."¹⁴

Chester

1563

Robert of Sicily.

"On Sunday after Midsummer in the year 1563 the play of Robert Cicoll was played at the High Cross."¹⁵

Essex, Braintree

1523

St. Swithin.

1525

St. Andrew.

1534

St. Eustace.

¹² Chambers II, 338.

^{12a} Hist. mss. Com. v, p. 340.

¹⁴ Wilh. Creizenach, *The Early Religious Drama* (*Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. v, pt. I, p. 55). The point here is that this is a Miracle Play because it has Miracle Play technique, i. e., it is the dramatization of a miraculous legend. See also Chambers, II, 356.

¹⁵ Chetham Society, III, p. vi ff. I have forgotten to whom I am indebted for this reference. I have not examined the Chetham Society publications myself.

"The Churchwarden's accounts of St. Michael's include the following:

'Anno 1523. A play of St. Swythyn, acted in the church on a Wednesday, for which was gathered 6:14:11½, etc.

'Anno 1525. There was a play at St. Andrew acted in the Church the Sunday before Relique Sunday; Rc^d, 8:9:6, etc.

'Anno 1534. A Play of Placidus alias St. Eustace, etc."²⁸

Ireland, Dublin

1528

Crispin and Crispianus.

"Tho. Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the year 1528, was invited to a new play every day in Christmas. . . . wherein the taylors acted the part of Adam and Eve; the shoemakers represented the story of Crispin and Crispianus; the vintners acted Bacchus and his story; the Carpenters that of Joseph and Mary; Vulcan, and what related to him, was acted by the Smiths; and the comedy of Ceres, the goddess of corn, by the Bakers. Their stage was erected on Hoggin Green (now called College Green), and on it the priors of St. John of Jerusalem, of the blessed Trinity, and All Hallows caused two plays to be acted, the one representing the passion of our Saviour, and the other the several deaths which the apostles suffered."²⁹

Kent, Bethersden

1522

St. Christina.

"The churchwardens' accounts record *ludi beatae Christinae*, in 1522. St. Christina's day was July 24."³⁰

Kent, Lydd

1455-6

St. George.

Records of Corporation of Lydd: 33, 34 Henry VI (1455-6).

"In expenses made the iiiith day of July being here Sir Thomas Keryell, the Luetenaut of the Castell of Dover, and hir (their) wyvys, seeing the play of Seint George 18s. 6d."³¹

²⁸ Chambers II, 342. See also Chambers II, 451: "From 1533-7 he (Nicholas Udall) was vicar of Braintree, Essex, and not improbably wrote the play of *Placidus* alias *Sir Eustace*, recorded in 1534 in the churchwardens' accounts."

²⁹ Chambers, II, 365. See also Chambers, II, 365 footnote: "W. F. Dawson, *Christmas: its Origin and Associations*, 52, says that Henry II kept Christmas at Hogges in 1171 with 'miracle plays.' But I cannot find the authority for this." Ireland, because of its close relations with England, is included here.

³⁰ Chambers, II, 338. See also L. T. Smith, *York Plays*, lxxv.

³¹ Hist. Ms. Com. v, 521. See summary in Chambers, II, 383: "The town accounts show a play of St. George on July 4, 1456, and payment to the 'bane cryars' of 'our play' in 1468;" also Chambers, II, 386, under New Romney, Kent: "A second play of *St. George* was probably started in 1490 when a chaplain of the guild of St. George went to see the Lydd *St. George* play, with a view to reproducing it."

Lincoln, Lincoln 1441-1456 St. Lawrence, St. Susanna,
Robert of Sicily, St. Clara,
St. Jacob.

"A set of local annals (1361-1515) compiled in the sixteenth century records the following plays:

- 1441-2. Ludus Sancti Laurentii.
- 1447-8. Ludus de Kyng Robert of Cesill.
- 1447-8. Ludus Sanctae Susannae.
- 1452-3. Ludus de Kyng Robert of Cesill.
- 1455-6. Ludus de Sancta Clara.

"Cannon Rock, apparently quoting from the same document, also mentions a 'Ludus de Sancto Iacobo.'"²⁰

London 1393 St. Catherine.

"In 1393, according to the *London Chronicle*, 'was the play of seynt Katerine.'"²¹

Norfolk, Lynn 1385-6 St. Thomas.

Extracts from the Chamberlains accounts:

"iiiiis iiid paid by the Mayor's gift to persons playing the interlude of St. Thomas the Martyr."²²

Norfolk, Thatford Priory 1503-4 St. Mary Magdalene.

"19 Henry VII (1503-4) Itm. sol. to the play of Mydelane, 12d."²³

Oxford, Oxford 1506 St. Mary Magdalene.

"1506. To John Burgess, B. A., . . . xd were paid for writing out a miracle-play ('scriptura lusi') of St. Mary Magd., and vs. for some music; and viiijd to a man who brought some songs from Edward Martyn, M. A.

²⁰ Chambers, II, 378. The following is the quotation from Rock to which Chambers refers (D. Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, II, 430): "In a parchment roll containing the names of mayors and bailiffs of Lincoln, beginning with the 34th of Edward III, among the other things worthy of record, notice is taken of 'Ludus de Pater Noster hoc anno; Ludus Sci Laurentii; Ludus Sce Susanne; Ludus de Sco Jacobo; Ludus Corpus Xpi.'" See also A. F. Leach, *Some English Plays and Players in An English Miscellany* (1901), pp. 222-230. Plays were given in Lincoln on St. Anne's day; but according to Leach these seem to have been of the Corpus Christi type.

²¹ Chambers, II, 380.

²² Hist. Mss. Com., XI, app. x, p. 223. See also, Chambers, II, 374.

²³ Chambers, II, 245.

The above extract was taken from the account books of Magdalen College, Oxford.²⁴

“The play of St. Obert, patron of the boxters or bakers, was at Perth yearly celebrated on the 10th of Dec. on a procession with torches by a band of musicians. One of the performers impersonated the devil, and all wore masquerade dress. A horse was led in the procession, with its hoofs enclosed in men’s shoes.”²⁸

“ 1516. In vino, pomis, et aliis novelis datis et expenditis super abbatem Salop et Famulos suos ad ludum et demonstrationem martiriorum Felicianae at Sabinae in quaerera post muros.

John Bale's play :

Warwickshire, Coventry	1490, 1504-5	St. Catherine, St. Christian.
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1504-5. 'This yere they played the play of St. Crytyan in the little parke.' " 28

² Ch. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland* (1884), II, 327. I am indebted to Mr. Hanly for this reference. He calls attention to a prohibition of 1574-5 which forbade certain plays, and suggests that probably this play fell under the prohibition.

"Chambers, II, 382. See too for St. Christian, *The Coventry Leet Book* (E. E. T. S., 1913, No. 146, p. li, footnote). Also see *Notes and Queries* (Tenth Series, XI, 230): "'St. Christian,' Miracle Play. Was there ever a Miracle Play entitled St. Christian? Sharp (Coventry Mysteries, p. 10) quotes from a MS. list of Mayors, 'This yeare (1505) they played the play of St. Crytyan in the Little Parke.' Hardin Craig ('Two Corpus Christi Plays') thinks St. Catherine was intended by this, as a play on this subject had been performed in 1490 or 1491 in the same place. I find however, in Inq. P. M. 19 Henry VIII, 46-55 (P. R. O.), that the play of 1505 is described as 'magnus ludus vocatus seynt Xpeans (Christians) play.'" M. D. Harris.

York

1455

St. Dionysius.

"In 1455 Robert Laingby 'clericus parochialis S. Dionisii Ebor.' leaves to the fabric of his parish church for his burial 'unam mappam de twill et ludum oreginale (sic) sancti Dionisii.' This play would be an important addition to the literature of the vestry, although the parishioners were in all probability well acquainted with its subject."²²

York

1554

St. George.

"For St. George's play in 1554 there were payments 'for vj yerdes of canvas and paygant.'"²³

NOTES ON PRESERVED PLAYS

There are preserved from the period under consideration two—or possibly three—complete Miracle Plays in English, and one in Cornish. The first of these is the *Croxton Play of the Sacrament*.²⁴ It is a dramatization of the miraculous legend which relates how a Jew who attempted an outrage upon the consecrated host was converted. The following from Chambers (II, 427) gives the available information as to the date and location of the play: "The colophon (of the ms.) runs: 'Thus endyth the Play of the Blyssyd Sacrament, whyche myracle was done in the forest of Aragon, in the famous cite Eraclea, the yere of ower Lord God Mlcccc.lxi, to whom be honower. Amen.'" This account of the event on which the play is founded is confirmed by ll. 56-60 of the prologue. The date of composition cannot therefore be earlier than 1461, and probably is not much later. . . . The name Croxton is common to places in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, and other counties. Further identification may perhaps be helped by ll. 540-1—

²² *Testamenta Eboracensia*, II, 117 (Surtees Society, 1855). I am indebted to Mr. Manly for this reference.

²³ L. T. Smith, *York Plays*, p. xxxv. See also xxxi: "There was also in York the universally-spread play of St. George, at Midsummer, with its procession; but nothing is known of the local text of this, which was almost surely a single short play." See further Chambers, II, 406. Though Chambers lists the notice as a riding, one of the items runs: "To the waites for rydyng and playing before St. George and the play."

²⁴ For bibliographical note see Chambers, II, 427.

Editions: Whitley Stokes, in *Transactions of Philological Society*, 1860-1 (Appendix); Manly, *Specimens of Pre-Shakespearian Drama* (1897), I, 239. For the Legend with sources given see, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXI, 474-6.

'Inquyre to the Colkote, for there ys hys logging,
A lyttle besyde Babwelle Mylle.'

The second Miracle Play preserved in English is Mary Magdalene of the Digby group. It is a dramatization of the "legendary life of Magdalen as it appears in the Golden Legend." It is of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Schmidt, who has made a careful study of the play (*Anglia*, VIII, 371), ascribes it to a west Midland author and a Kentish scribe; Furnivall, who edited the Digby plays, thinks the dialect East Midland.³² Relative to the type, as Mr. Manly has often pointed out in his class room, though the play contains a personification of the seven deadly sins, the technique is not that of the morality, it is not symbolistic, but realistic and direct. Thus, in the temptation scene, Mary becomes tired of staying at home and goes away to an inn—just as would happen today. A young man comes along and carries on a naturalistic seduction. It is our best example of a Miracle Play.

The third play in English to which I refer is the *Conversion of St. Paul*.³³

Schmidt assigns the play to an East Midland author and a Southern scribe. This drama stands as an individual play, not as a part of a cycle, and is the dramatization of the life of a saint. True, the events are based on the biblical narrative. But as Gerould puts it: ³⁴ "Though its materials are thus not apocryphal, it has all the ear-marks of legend in its treatment."³⁵ The Cornish Miracle

³² For bibliographical note see Chambers, II, 428 ff.

³³ For bibliographical note see Chambers, II, 429; edited by Manly, I, 215.

³⁴ G. H. Gerould, *Saints' Legends* (1916), p. 305.

³⁵ In this connection, I may call attention to a suggestion which I have made (*A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play*, Chapter V, p. 65) regarding the classification of the medieval Latin plays, the *Resurrection of Lazarus* and the *Conversion of St. Paul*: "I believe the evidence tends to show, not that these plays are logically connected with the Christmas and Easter dramatic offices, but that they are composed in honor of Lazarus and Paul as patron saints, and hence are Miracle Plays." The *Conversion of St. Paul*, standing as it does as an individual drama, I believe, should still be considered in the Digby group as a Miracle Play. But though the evidence suggests that the Lazarus play in its origin is in honor of a patron saint, I think it had lost this distinctive feature by the time of the developed Corpus Christi plays and had become an integral part of the great cycles.

For brief discussions of *Dux Moraud*, a fragment of a Latin play which may have been a *Miracle de Notre Dame* (printed in *Anglia*, XXX, 180 ff.),

Play to which I referred above is St. Meriasek or Meriadochus.³⁶ It was written in 1504; Mr. Stokes, the editor and translator of the play, suggests Camborne, Cornwall, of which place St. Meriasek was patron, as its locality.³⁷

University of Montana.

see Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (1911), I, 159, and *Cambridge History of English Literature*, V. I, p. 45. It has been suggested too that the fragment, *Interludium de Clerico et de Puella* (see Chambers, II, 324) may be of the same type. I note this suggestion without comment.

³⁶ For bibliographical note, see Chambers, II, 435-6. Excellent summary of contents of play, *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, V. I, pp. 16-17.

³⁷ I hope soon to present data concerning saints' pageants, and various miscellaneous references to plays on saints' days.

A FORGOTTEN HIT: *THE NONJUROR*

BY DUDLEY MILES

Two hundred years ago or, to be exact, in the year 1717, there appeared in London's only daily the following notice: "Never Acted before. By His Majesty's Company of Comedians. At the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, this present Friday, being the 6th of December, will be presented a new Comedy, call'd, *The Nonjuror*." Thus was announced the most extraordinary success of its decade. For fourteen days without fail it was presented without variation, the sixth day only being announced as "For the Benefit of the Author." That run brought the season up to the Saturday before Christmas, "Being the last Time of Acting till the Holidays." For the fifteenth day, Thursday, December 26, when the theatre was reopened, it was promised that the reigning sensation should be given "with the Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing, call'd, *Mars and Venus*. To begin exactly at Six a-Clock." The next day the play was repeated, but Saturday saw *Mithridates, King of Pontus* given, and Monday *Love Makes a Man*. On Wednesday, the first day of 1718, it was repeated with *Mars and Venus*.

After a lapse of two weeks it was played on Thursday, January 16, "At the Desire of several Persons of Quality . . . For the Benefit of the Author." The next day it was given "With the Prologue and Epilogue." Three weeks after, on Friday, February 7, it was repeated "At the Desire of Several Persons of Quality." Ten days later it was again found on the bill. On Monday, March 10, it was acted "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality" with a pantomime, *Orpheus and Euridice*. When it was played once more, on Wednesday, April 16, in response to a similar request, it was announced as "the last time of acting it this Season."

In the summer a company was organized under the direction of Mills which appeared on Tuesdays and Fridays from June 9 to August 22. On Monday, August 18, this group of players appeared "At Mr. Penkethman's new Theatre at Richmond," where "at the particular Request of several Persons of Quality" was presented *The Nonjuror* "With the Original Prologue and Epi-

logue." In the fall, on Saturday, October 18, it was acted for the twenty-fifth time within the year of its original production.¹

This surprising and long-continued popularity was matched by its printed form. On the tenth day of its performance, December 17, the following note appeared with the announcement: "In a very few Days will be publish'd, by Mr. Colle Cibber. The Nonjuror. A Comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. Printed for Bernard Lintott between the Temple Gates. N. B. A small Number will be printed on Royal Paper, at Half a Crown each, stitch'd in Marble Paper and gilt Leaves. Those who will Subscribe for these, are desir'd to pay in their Money; and those who will take Numbers of the small Paper, shall have an Allowance."² The advertisement was repeated on December 19, but the book itself did not appear³ until January 2, 1718.⁴ But on the next day a second edition⁵ was demanded by the public, and on January 7 appeared a third. A fourth and a fifth were issued during the year, besides one for T. Johnson.⁶ In 1719 it

¹ These dates show that Genest's figure of twenty-three performances is an error, and that Cibber's boast [*Apology*, II, p. 186 (1889)] that "it was acted eighteen Days running" should be reduced to sixteen.

² *The Daily Courant*, Tuesday, December 17.

³ *The / Non-Juror. / A / Comedy. / As it is Acted at the/Theatre-Royal,/ By /His Majesty's Servants. /Written by Mr. Cibber. / —Pulchra Laverna / Da mihi fallere; da Justum, Sanctumq; videri, /Noctem Peccatis, & Fraudibus objice Nubem. /Hor. /London: /Printed for B. Lintot, at the Cross-Keys in /Fleetstreet. MDCXVII. /*

⁴ The reason for this delay was, as we shall see later, that Cibber had secured permission to dedicate the play to the King. He had formally presented it on January 1 and received for his pains two hundred pounds. The advertisement in *The Daily Courant* for Thursday, January 2, ran as follows: "This Day is Published, The Nonjuror. A Comedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury lane. Written by Mr. Cibber. Dedicated to the King. N. B. A small Number are printed on Royal Paper, at Half a Crown each, stitch'd in Marble Paper and Gilt Leaves. Printed for Bernard Lintot between the Temple-Gates."

⁵ It is uncertain how large these editions were. Usually a printing numbered five hundred copies. The second edition is identical with the first except for the addition on the title-page, below the motto, of "The Second Edition" in small caps. Although I have not made the minute collation necessary to establish the point, this identity appears to extend to succeeding editions through the fifth.

⁶ *The Non-Juror. A Comedy.* Written by Mr. Cibber. London, Printed for T. J. & are sold by the Book-sellers of London and Westminster, M.DCC.XVIII.

was included in "The English Theatre for the Year 1718"⁷ and was very properly given the first place. It was of course included in the collected edition of Cibber's plays in 1721⁸ as well as in later editions.

A play with so tremendous a popularity could not escape notice in the newspapers. The Whig organ noted the next day after its *première*: "Last Night the Comedy call'd the Nonjuror, was Acted at his Majesty's Theatre in Dryry-Lane, which very naturally displaying the Villany of that most wicked and abominable Crew, it gave great Satisfaction to all the Spectators."⁹ The next Saturday's paper contained a more extended notice:

"Hearing such a general Applause of Mr. Cibber's new Play, called the NONJUROR, it incited some particular Persons, well affected to the present Government, to go and see the same, and found the Report come far short of its due Recommendation; for without taking notice of the Exactness of the Play in respect how nicely it comes up to the Truth of dramatic Writing, in keeping close to the Unity of Action, Time, and Place, it display'd not only the Beauties of Love and Gallantry, but truly Decipher'd the Deformity of the greatest Villany shrouded under Jacobitism and Popery. The Prologue spoken as excellently by Mr. Wilks, as the Epilogue was by Mrs. Oldfield, they said ended with these Words,

*And Fools that are well stockt with Ready-Rino
Must keep it for the Impostor at Urbino.*

The several Incidents were very surprising, which happen'd thro' the well-laid Plot, which represented the most stupid and unparallel'd Bogottry of an old rich Jacobite, the Part whereof was incomparably well perform'd by Mr. Ben Johnson, who was so much intoxicated with Passive-Obedience and NonResistance, that he could almost have out-Sworn a Knight of the Post that the Pretender was a lawful begotten Child. His Wife and Son and Daughter, were all Christians, for they were for the Church of England,

⁷ *The English Theatre For the Year 1718: Consisting of all the New Comedies Acted at Both Houses. By his Majesty's Servants.* Viz. I. The Non-juror. By Mr. Cibber. II. The Artful Wife. By Mr. Taverner. III. The Coquet. By Mr. Molloy. IV. Love in a Veil. By Mr. Savage. London: Printed for E. Curll at the Dial and Bible, and R. Franklin at the Sun, both against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet. MDCCXIX. Price Six Shillings.

⁸ *Plays* written by Mr. Cibber. In Two Volumes. London; Printed for Jacob Tonson, over against Catherine-Street, in the Strand; Bernard Lintot, at the Cross-Keys between Temple-Gates, Fleetstreet; William Mears, at the Lamb, without Temple-Bar; and William Chetwood, at Cato's-Head, Russel-street, Covent-Garden, M.DCC.XXI.

⁹ *Read's Weekly Journal*, December 7, 1717.

and truly loyal to King GEORGE, which made the Husband endeavour to Poyson his whole Family with the destructive Principles of Indefeasible, Hereditary Right; being seconded by a Nonjuring-Parson, who was a Romiah Priest in Masquerade, and made it his Glory, that whilst he was inciting the Tory-Mob to keep up the Church of England, he and such like him were pulling it down as fast as they could."

The article then continues to quote the bill of charges against the villain and to give a synopsis of the whole play.¹⁰ On the same page it printed a satirical reference to the play expressive of Whig satisfaction:

"Last Week the Nonjurors hearing that the Theatre in Drury-Lane, was to be made a nonjuring Conventicle, the Jacobites and Tories flockt thither in Shoals; but when they found the Persons that were to officiate there were all of Revolution-Principles, the poor Scoundrels S—neakt away like so many D—ogs that had lost their Tails."¹¹

A week later it reported that "Last Thursday Night, [December 19] his Majesty was at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, to see the Play of the Non-Juror."¹² Mist's anti-Hanoverian *Weekly Journal* for the same day, with characteristic carelessness, declared that "On Wednesday and Thursday Nights last the King was at the Playhouse to see the Play acted call'd the Nonjuror."¹³ Applebee's *Original Weekly Journal* noted on the same day that "Also on Thursday Night, the King Came to the Theatre in Drury Lane, and saw the Comedy call'd *The Nonjuror*." It preceded this statement by the report that

"There has been for thirteen Nights successively Acted at the Royal Theatre in Drury-Lane a Play call'd *The Nonjuror*, written by Mr. Cibber; much Ridiculing the Principles and Practices of those people: 'Tis said Mr. Cibber hath clear'd already by this Play near one thousand Pounds; besides a large Present from ———. Its Observable the Play House has not been so Crowded for many Years; as since the Performance of this Play."¹⁴

A week passed before Mist printed a letter dated on Christmas Day to this effect:

"I wonder you have not yet past Censure upon a new Comedy, called the Non-juror, wherein the Author ridicules the whole Sacred Order, and makes

¹⁰ Read's *Weekly Journal*, December 14, 1717.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Read's *Weekly Journal*, December 21, 1717.

¹³ *The Weekly Journal: or, Saturday's-Post*, December 21, 1717.

¹⁴ Applebee's *Original Weekly Journal*, December 21, 1717.

a very Jest of Conscience. Let any one who knows any thing of the Institution and Rules of the Drama, consider this Piece, and then say, whether the Author does not equally offend against Art and good Sense, Religion and good Manners. Such Authors are the Bane of all Society; they pervert the very end of Things, and turn that to Excrement which was design'd for Nourishment."¹⁵

On the same day the pacific Applebee informed the public that "We hear that Mr. Cibber has obtained Permission to Dedicate his excellent Comedy of the *Nonjuror*, to the King, and will present it to His Majesty on the first of January next,"¹⁶ That explains, as was noted above, why the appearance of the first edition was deferred till January 2, and perhaps why the second edition was so soon ready.

The next Saturday Read printed in full "The Prologue, written by N. Rowe, Esq; to the incomparable Comedy, call'd, The *Nonjuror* and spoken by Mr. Wilks," as well as "The Epilogue spoken by Mrs. Oldfield."¹⁷

Up to this moment Mist had found anything but satisfaction in the extraordinary success of the Whig comedy, but on the first of March he took great glee in printing a letter dated from Button's Coffee House February 20:

"Mr. Mist, I Can't help desiring you to inform the Publick of the strange Revolution of Fortune which the Author of a late Play, call'd the *N—j—r*, hath met with: This *would-be-Wit* (in spite of Nature) having more than once imposed upon the Town some good Plays for his own, has at last discovered his own Stupid Barrenness of Genius, by not making, but turning a Play to a Subject which ought rather to be pitied than ridicul'd; in which he has heap'd together more Malice, Nonsense, and Obscenity than ever was presented in one dramattick Performance before: And as to his Character of the Parson, there is not one Instance (among all those unhappy Gentlemen) to be found that can justify the least Part of his Representation. I will not speak of the want of Generosity to insult a fallen People, for the Wretch never could have one spark of Honor in him.

"But to my present Purpose: It is believed he got by the Profits of this doughty Performance about 1000 l. which I hear he has been decently stript of at the Groom-Porter's, and I am assured it is Truth: As also another piece of barbarous Extravagance; [to the effect that he stole eighty pounds from a benefit performance for his daughter]. Charles Johnson."¹⁸

¹⁵ *Mist's Weekly Journal: or, Saturday's Post*, December 28, 1717.

¹⁶ Applebee's *Original Weekly Journal*, December 28, 1717.

¹⁷ *Read's Weekly Journal*, January 4, 1718.

¹⁸ *Mist's Weekly Journal*, March 1, 1718.

These repeated references to the play in the public prints are, I believe, a unique testimonial to its popularity. References to the current productions were in that day almost unknown. The dramatic critic and the press agent were undreamed of. To this play the references are numerous and lengthy. The play was, indeed, the event of its generation. Between *Cato*, produced April 14, 1713, and *The Provoked Husband*, first acted on January 10, 1728, public attention was never so centered on a theatrical production, and even in those cases there is no indication that discussion was stirred up to so notable an extent.

But *The Nonjuror* was not only successful in itself—it was the cause of success in other plays! A notable instance is *The Per-juror*, by Christopher Bullock.¹⁹ The farce may have been suggested by the successful run of Cibber's comedy. The character of the mercenary and lascivious Justice Bind-over might well have been suggested by Dr. Wolf, and one scene in which he is overheard talking with an actress bears an obvious resemblance to the second meeting of Dr. Wolf and Lady Woodville in the fifth act of *The Nonjuror*. First produced on December 12, it was repeated on December 18,²⁰ with *Mangora, King of the Timbusians, or The Faithful Couple*. It was repeated the next day with *The Woman's Riddle*, and on the twentieth with *The Anatomist, or the Sham Doctor*. On Saturday the twenty-eighth and Monday the thirtieth it was acted with *The Fair Quaker of Deal*, and on January 9 with *The Fair Example*. The directness with which it used the interest aroused by the more successful play is apparent from the following notice:

"The Informers being very busie last Southwark-Fair, in taking up the

¹⁹ *The Per-Juror*. As it is Acted at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. London: Printed for William Mears at the Lamb, Jonas Brown at the Black Swan, and F. Clay at the Bible without Temple-Bar, MDCCLXVII.

²⁰ The Fourth Day. By the Company of Comedians. At the Theatre in Little-Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, this present Wednesday, being the 18th of December, will be presented a new Tragedy, call'd Mangora, King of the Timbusians. With Music Vocal and Instrumental, Dances, and other Decorations proper to the same. To which (at the particular desire of several Persons of Quality) will be added the last new Farce call'd The Per-juror. N. B. And whereas there are a great many Scenes and Machines to be mov'd in this Play, which cannot be done if Persons should stand on the Stage, it is therefore hoped no Persons will take it ill that they must be denied coming behind the Scenes. (*The Daily Courant*, December 18, 1717.)

Actors of several Booths, not out of Conscience but Interest, their Villainy is very prettily expos'd by a Farce acted at the Playhouse in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, call'd the Per-juror, the Prologue whereof is as follows, and spoken by Mr. Spiller, who was one of them that was taken up.

Well, I'm glad that any thing will bring you,
 Tho' Faith we've nothing but a Name to win you.
 All you that come, expecting Party-Wit,
 As sure as you're alive now, you are all bit
 No doubt your Expectations all were big,
 That this Per-juror was a furious Whig,
 A Wolf disguis'd, some sham Religious Preacher,
 Yea-and-Nay Friend, or Anabaptist Teacher,
 No; Politicks we cautiously disclaim;
 Who'd with fresh Fuel feed a dying Flame?
 We scorn a Shelter from that stale Pretence,
 To screen with Party-Rage our Want of Sense."²¹

In a letter to *Mist* dated December 25, a writer, after denouncing *The Nonjuror*,²² adds:

"I cannot leave you without taking notice of another Play, lately acted at the New House, called the Perjuror, by way of Opposition to the Non-juror. That Author has very justly introduced an informing Constable, or Reformation Man, and has made a good Essay towards reforming even the Reformers themselves. That Abuses have been committed by those People is too notorious to need any single Proof or Instance. But to make a Farce of a Matter of Conscience, is what would not be tolerated in any other Christian Country in the World."²³

Applebee likewise added to his notice of *The Nonjuror*²⁴ this sentence:

"A Play call'd, the *Perjuror*, has also been Acted several times at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; which 'tis said, is set up in Opposition to that of the *Nonjuror*; but has not met with nigh the Applause and Success as the Latter."²⁵

Indeed, the applause and success with which it did meet were evidently due to its rival and suggester.

Another farce that enjoyed popularity of another kind for the same reason was *The Juror*,²⁶ which was never acted. On the title

²¹ *Read's Weekly Journal*, December 21, 1717.

²² Cf. *ante*, p. 6.

²³ *Mist's Weekly Journal*, December 28, 1717.

²⁴ Cf. *ante*, p. 5.

²⁵ *The Original Weekly Journal*, December 21, 1717.

²⁶ *The Juror. A Farce.* By W. B. formerly of St. John's Colledge Camb.

page was printed the epilogue in order that, as with the modern magazine that flaunts its varicolored cover before the susceptible purchaser, every eye might be attracted by the reigning interest:

Here you may see what Hippocrites will do,
 What various Villanies such Men run through;
 What mighty Ills from Perjury proceed,
 What Orphans ruin'd, and what Nations bleed:
 What Treaties broke, what Monarchs been betray'd,
 How States-men rise, and Tradesmens Fortune made:
 Whate'er *Non-jurors* teach we sadly know,
 But 'tis the *Juror* strikes the deadliest Blow.

The use made of treason in unraveling the situation indicates that the play itself was suggested by Cibber's sensational production. At any rate, this borrowed popularity helped the piece to run through five editions, the third of which appeared on February 8, 1718, and was again advertised on April 26, shortly after a revival of *The Nonjuror*.

With the third play whose sales and production were due to the success of *The Nonjuror*, the case is reversed. Cibber was charged with having stolen his play from it, instead of its being inspired by his play. On December 27 appeared this advertisement: "This Day is Published, *Tartuffe*; or, *The French Puritan*. Written in French by Moliere, and render'd into English with Improvements by the late Mr. Medbourne; in which Play may be seen the Plot, Characters, Incidents, and most part of the Language of *The Nonjuror*. . . . R. Wellington at King George's-Head over against St. Clement's Church in the Strand."²⁷ This was repeated on the next day and on January 1 and 6 in 1718. The play had already seen two editions, the first shortly after its first production in 1670²⁸ and a second in 1707,²⁹ possibly on the occasion of a revival

London; Printed for John Norcock next the Devil Tavern within Temple-Bar. MDCCXVIII.

²⁷ *Daily Courant*, December 27, 1717.

²⁸ *Tartuffe: or the French Puritan. A Comedy, Lately Acted at the Theatre Royal. Written in French by Moliere and rendered into English with much Addition and Advantage, By M. Medbourne, Servant to His Royal Highness. London: Printed by H. L. and R. B. for James Magnus at the Posthouse in Russel-street near the Piazza in Covent Garden, M.DC.LXX.*

²⁹ *Tartuffe: or, the French Puritan. A Comedy, Acted at the Theatre Royal. Written in French by Moliere, and Render'd into English, with much Addition and Advantage, by M. Medbourne, Servant to His Royal*

of which there is now no record. The publisher of this second edition brought out the 1717 edition, of which I have been able to find no exemplar, but he had in the meantime moved from St. Paul's Churchyard to the Strand. After the repeated performance of Cibber's play the managers of Lincoln's Inn Fields at last made this announcement:

"Not Acted these Thirty Years. By the Company of Comedians. At the Theatre in Little-Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, To-morrow, being Friday, the 20th of June, will be reviv'd a Comedy call'd, *Tartuffe*; or *The Hypocrite*. Written originally in French by Moliere. The principal Parts to be perform'd by Mr. Ch. Bullock, Mr. Leigh, Mr. Spiller, Mr. Ogden, Mr. Smith, Mr. Diggs, Mrs. Spiller, Mrs. Finch, Mrs. Robinson, and Mrs. Elsam. With a New Prologue."²⁰

The piece was repeated the following Wednesday, June 25, and "At the Desire of several Persons of Quality" on Thursday, July 3. A year later, on Wednesday, June 24, 1719, it received what was in all probability its last representation.

But the newspapers and the repeated performances and the success of plays suggested by it were not the only evidence of the impression which *The Nonjuror* made on the public. Indeed, much more vehement witnesses are the numerous pamphlets occasioned by it. Apparently the earliest²¹ was written during the Christmas vacation, for the writer speaks of the King's having seen the play last Thursday, December 19, and of having seen it himself fourteen times. It was therefore written between December 11 and 26. It was so highly laudatory, expressing the wish that the comedy might become as common in every house as the book of common prayer, that Cibber's enemies accused him of writing it. It did not issue from the press until January 3.

On the following Monday, January 6, appeared a synopsis²²

Highness. London: Printed for Richard Wellington, Bookseller, at the Dolphin and Crowne in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1707.

²⁰ *Daily Courant*, June 19, 1718.

²¹ *Some Cursory Remarks On the Play call'd The Non-Juror. Written by Mr. Cibber. In a Letter to a Friend.* London, Printed for William Chetwood, at the Cato's Head in Russell-Court near the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. 1718.

²² *The Comedy call'd the Non-Juror. Shewing The particular Scenes wherein that Hypocrite is concern'd. With Remarks, and a Key, Explaining The Characters of that Excellent Play.* London: Printed for J. L. and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1718.

containing most of the scenes in which Dr. Wolf takes part. But the chief interest of the pamphlet is in the annotations of the prologue and epilogue and a key to the characters, largely to those in the satirical list of expenses incurred by Dr. Wolf. The publication of such a key is in itself an evidence of the widespread discussion which the play had aroused and no doubt represented the decisions of the coffeehouse wits concerning the points in Cibber's satire.

Much more popular, however, was another brochure³³ issued the same day by John Durant Breval, which ran into a second edition on January 8, and later saw an expanded third edition. It was apparently suggested by that edition of Medbourne's *Tartuffe* which was advertised on December 27, the first good opening which Cibber's enemies had found. It is mainly taken up with a tracing of Cibber's indebtedness to Molière, the occasion for many depreciatory remarks on his plagiarism and his satire. But it contains at the end the "Compleat Key," which doubtless accounts for the continued sale of the production. The third edition, although the pamphlet had all along been called complete, took over from its companion of January 6, "The Comedy call'd the Nonjuror," four identifications from Dr. Wolf's list of expenses.

This first condemnation of Cibber, found in Gay's, really Breval's, pamphlet, was not nearly strong enough to please those of Jacobitish leaning. A man bold enough to sign himself "Nonjuror" hastily prepared a still more condemnatory attack.³⁴ It was advertised in *Mist's Weekly Journal* as to appear on January 7, but its actual appearance was on January 11. It was even more caustic than Gay in accusing Cibber of plagiarism, finding Molière innocent of indelicacy while Cibber was full of it, declaring *The Nonjuror* much less natural than *Tartuffe*, and concluding with an angry denial of all of Gay's identifications. In short, it was as

³³ *A Compleat Key to the Non-Juror. Explaining The Characters in that Play, with Observations thereon.* By Joseph Gay. London: Printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible, over-against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street. 1718.

³⁴ *The Theatre-Royal Turn'd into a Mountebank's Stage. In Some Remarks upon Mr. Cibber's Quack-Dramatical Performance, called the Non-Juror.* By a Non-Juror. London: Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers Hall. 1718.

outspoken as was safe for a Jacobite to be in that day of Whig triumph.

Another clue³⁵ to the play served a quite different purpose. It praised the play, to be sure, but it did so to make the satire in it apply to Bishop Hoadley, the arch-representative of the Whig views in religion. A more complete stealing of the enemy's thunder it would be difficult to conceive.

The last of the pamphlets³⁶ occasioned by the play was directed against the prologue alone. In heroic couplets, and pretending great zeal throughout for King George, it yet abounds in abusive epithets and phrases for Rowe's attack on the Nonjurors in his prologue.

So far as I have investigated, no play of that age led to such vehement attack and defence as Cibber's *Nonjuror*. Certainly in the length of run, in the number of editions, in the amount of newspaper comment, in the plays that owed their success to it, and in the various pamphlets occasioned by it—in this combination of evidence *The Nonjuror* surpassed any other production in the dramatic history of its time, even the production of *Cato* in 1713 and of *The Provoked Husband* in 1728.

New York City.

³⁵ *A Clue To the Comedy of the Non-Juror. With Some Hints of Consequence Relating to that Play. In a Letter to N. Rowe, Esq; Poet Laureat to His Majesty.* London: Printed for E. Curll, in Fleet-street. 1718.

³⁶ *A Lash for the Laureat: or an Address by Way of Satyr; Most Humbly Inscrib'd to the Unparallel'd Mr. Rowe, On Occasion of the late Insolent Prologue to the Non-Juror.* London: Printed for J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall. MDCCXVIII.

ROBERT BLOOMFIELD

BY A. H. R. FAIRCHILD

Rummaging about, a few years ago, in a side-street, Oxford bookshop, I came upon a stall marked, "3d each." The books were battered and scarred; they had served their human ends; and now, derelicts of an earlier day, they were cheapened into such insignificance that only the curious granted them a moment's inspection. As I gave the rows a cursory glance, about to pass on, my eye fell upon what had once been a handsome binding. Suspecting some unusual bit of human interest, I drew the volume out. It was polished full-calf, artistically tooled. Turning the volume over for a moment, I speculated on the hand that once had treasured the little work. Then I read the title-page: *The Farmer's Boy; A Rural Poem*. By Robert Bloomfield. The Fifth Edition, London, MDCCC1.

Robert Bloomfield! Who was he? His name I had seen, but never a line of his had I read. A glance at the contents of the little volume showed that he aspired to be a nature poet, and that he followed Thomson's division of the seasons. A score of questions crowded my mind. Where did he live? Under what circumstances did he write his poems? Who of the greater men of the day, especially poets, knew anything of Bloomfield and his work? The fifth edition! Probably there were more. Was Bloomfield one of those poets of the people, read, appreciated, even beloved in his day, while others, later grouped among the great, gained but a grudging contemporary acknowledgment of presumptive genius? Was this a poet who gripped the heart of the common people, while others of greater merit went unread? If so, why had Bloomfield fallen into such fateful neglect?

I bought the volume, gratified to learn later in a well-regulated bookshop up town that my neglected poet, in the same edition and binding, was esteemed at four shillings. Since then I have picked up, here and there, copies of practically all Bloomfield's work, with a book or two about him and his country, produced in his own day;¹

¹One of these is E. W. Brayley's *Views in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Northamptonshire Illustrative of the Works of Robert Bloomfield, Accompanied*

and, in odd hours, I have attempted to build up something of the background of the author's life.

Without question a minor poet, not of the second but of the third or fourth rank, Bloomfield has yet fallen into a neglect in some degree unmerited. His *Farmer's Boy* once brought cheer and happiness to thousands of hearts; and his songs and lyrics, though far from the best, have occasional notes of genuine sweetness. Yet Bloomfield not only goes unread today; he is quite unknown to most students of literature. In his day he was known to Coleridge, Lamb, Nathan Drake, Byron, Hazlitt, John Wilson of *Blackwood's*, and other prominent men of letters; and though Byron² did not look upon his work with favor, Coleridge, Lamb (eventually), and others did, some even extending him extravagant praise. Chambers, in his *Cyclopaedia* (1842), represents the beginning of the more recent notice of Bloomfield. Stopford Brooke, Thomas Arnold, Mr. Saintsbury, and Mr. Gosse follow,³ each with more or less notice and criticism; and Mr. Bullen has a brief article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. With the exception of Mr. Bullen, these later critics appear merely to have read the excerpts and the discussion given by Chambers; they have repeated most of Chambers' errors; and they have added others of their own.⁴ Mr. Bullen, whose obligations involved both thoroughness and accuracy, seems to have given Bloomfield's work, especially the later part of it, merely a cursory examination; his article, succinct though it is,

with Descriptions, etc., London, 1818. Plates, and handsomely printed. Similar volumes had been issued for Cowper and Burns.

² *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, p. 120, Ox. edit. Byron rounds up with

Him too the mania, not the muse, has seized;
Not inspiration, but a mind diseased.

Bullen, (*op. cit.*) says Byron "referred to Bloomfield in complimentary terms." I have been unable to find any such passage.

³ *A Primer of English Literature; A Manual of English Literature; A History of Nineteenth Century Literature; and Modern English Literature*, respectively.

⁴ Chambers implies that the date for *The Farmer's Boy* is 1798, when he says that Bloomfield was thirty-two on its publication. The correct date is 1800. Brooke and Gosse, apparently following Chambers, also give the wrong date, 1798. Saintsbury gives 1760, instead of 1766, as the date of the poet's birth. Arnold says Bloomfield's father, who was a tailor, was a shoemaker.

contains several errors and lacks in discriminating appreciation. However insignificant Bloomfield may be, he has the common right to be read, if he is to be judged, especially if he is to be judged unfavorably. And with the exception of Chambers, all critics are distinctly adverse in attitude. Among recent critics Bloomfield has not only fallen into neglect; he has fallen into disfavor. Possibly a reconsideration of his life and his poetry may win him a little more recognition and a more just estimate of his work.

I

Robert Bloomfield, youngest in a family of six children, was born in the village of Honington, Suffolk, on December 3, 1766.⁵ His father, George Bloomfield, who was a tailor, died of smallpox when Robert was less than a year old.⁶ His mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Manby, was the village schoolmistress. Lacking a school building, Mrs. Bloomfield taught Robert and her older children, along with others belonging to neighbors, at her home, so that Robert's formal instruction was confined to what he there received, except for two or three months' instruction in writing at the school of a Mr. Rodwell of Ixworth Thorp. Other ascertainable facts of Robert's childhood are without special significance or importance.⁷

The humble occupation of Robert's mother and the number of her children, increased by the issue of a second marriage in 1773,⁸ made acute the problem of providing for all. Accordingly, in 1777, at the early age of eleven years, Robert was sent to an uncle, William Austin, a tenant of the Duke of Grafton and farmer of Sapiston, which adjoined Honington. Here Robert slept in the garret, and labored as farm boy. He was not unhappy, however. Though classed with the servant boys, he yet received, in common with them, the same treatment as Mr. Austin's sons; and he later entertained the kindest memories of his life at Sapiston and of his uncle:

⁵ The account here given is based primarily upon material contained in Bloomfield's works.

⁶ The burial at midnight, the family distress, and the horror inspired by the fell disease are all described in *Good Tidings*.

⁷ Chief of these was his mother's reading of *Goody-two-Shoes*, the precepts of which made a life-long impression. v. *Remains*, II, pp. 120-21.

⁸ Fourteen children blessed this marriage,—a total of twenty!

By deeds of hospitality endear'd
Served from affection, for his worth rever'd.

(*Farmer's Boy*, p. 6).^{*}

It was, indeed, in these years at Sapiston that Robert acquired a body of experience which was later to be the foundation of his poetical work. As compared with those about him, he had keen sensibilities; and if his perceptive powers never carried him very deep into the heart of nature, he at least acquired an intimate knowledge of rural occupations and manners that subsequently was recognized by others in his station as true to life:

The fields his study, nature was his book.

(*Ib.*, p. 5).

As Robert was frail in physique and small of stature, Mr. Austin soon realized that he was ill-equipped for earning his living by hard labor, and he had the good sense to inform the boy's mother. Mrs. Bloomfield thereupon wrote to her sons, George and Nathaniel, who were living in London, soliciting their aid. An arrangement was made, accordingly, whereby Robert should live with George, who was a shoemaker, and learn his trade, and that Nathaniel, who was a tailor, should furnish his clothes. On the receipt of this offer, Mrs. Bloomfield prepared to take Robert to London, and the first significant turning point in the poet's career had been reached.

On Friday, June 29, 1781, at the age of fifteen, Robert was brought to London. Here he lived with his brother George, at Mr. Simm's, 7 Pitcher's Court,¹⁰ obscurely tucked away in Bell Alley, Coleman Street. His quarters were a light garret, where five shoemakers worked. Besides being taught the shoemaker's trade, Robert was errand boy, fetching dinners from the cook-shop, and doing whatever else was required: "A Gibeonite, that serves them all by turns." His most common occupation was to read the newspapers to the others. To help Robert with the hard words in the paper, particularly in the speeches of Fox and North, a difficulty of which the boy complained, his brother George bought him a dictionary. On Sundays, after a walk in the country, Robert went to hear the dissenting minister Fawcett at the meeting house in the old Jewry, possibly seeing Wordsworth, who was interested in Fawcett and

^{*} References throughout to the fifth edition.

¹⁰ Cf. p. viii, Preface, *The Farmer's Boy*. Bullen says "Fisher's Court."

attended those meetings whenever he came up to London. Occasionally, Robert also went to a debating society at Coachmaker's Hall; and "a few times" he visited Covent Garden Theatre. To the men in the shop he read a history of England, *The British Traveller*, a geography which came weekly, and the *London Magazine*, in the Poet's Corner of which he was especially interested. As early as his first coming to London, Robert had begun to try his hand at verse. His brother speaks of his having made smooth verse to an old tune in 1783, when he was seventeen; but it was not until 1786, when Robert was twenty, that any of his verses were published. One of the first was a poem called *The Soldier's Return*; ¹¹ another was one of sixteen anapaestic lines, *A Village Girl*.

At some time between 1781 and 1784, the Bloomfields took new lodgings. Here Robert became acquainted with James Kay of Dundee, "a man of singular character," who had many books, among them *Paradise Lost* and *The Seasons*. These he lent to Robert, who, Mr. Brayler tells us, "was particularly delighted with *The Seasons*, and studied it with peculiar attention." ¹² In 1784 trouble arose between Mr. Chamberlayne, by whom George and Robert were employed, and the journeymen shoemakers; and Robert, to avoid the storm, returned, on Mr. Austin's invitation, to the Sapiston farm. Here, for the space of two months, ¹³ he renewed his acquaintance with rural sights, sounds, and occupations, greatly to the satisfaction and joy of his mind and heart. As the shoemaker's trouble remained unsettled, it was arranged that Robert

¹¹ Printed in *Remains*, i, p. 35.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 12. For one of literary aspirations, Bloomfield read but little. Besides those named, he seems to have read: Johnson's *Preface* to Shakespeare; *The Task*; Burns, in part; *The Bard*; Pope, in part; Dryden's *Virgil*; *The Lyrical Ballads*; Southey's *Thalaba*, first book; Shenstone; *The Gentleman's Magazine*; *Robinson Crusoe*; Hawkin's *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*; Smollet's *Count Fathom*; and poems by Mason, Bruce, Park, and others. Bloomfield praised Thomson, and doubtless drew from him the hint to write down his own impressions of "the changing year"; but a careful examination of their poems, contrary to first expectations, reveals practically nothing in the form of direct influence. There are a few not unnatural coincidences; but in details of subject, in diction, and in style the two poems are essentially different. Capel Loft, Bloomfield's editor, himself found *The Farmer's Boy* independent of *The Seasons*.

¹³ Bullen says three months.

should return to London and become a regularly bound apprentice. He was accordingly indentured to John Dudbridge, a Freeman of London. Shortly after this time, Robert's brother George left London permanently for Bury St. Edmunds, having looked after Robert for a period of nearly five years. From the time of George's departure for Bury, Robert began a new era in his life. He was of age, or almost so; he was independent; and he was thrown upon his own resources.

Bloomfield's next act was an important one, not for his poetry, but for his life. On December 12, 1790, he married Mary Anne Church of Woolwich, writing his brother that he had sold his fiddle (which he had evidently learned to play meanwhile) and got a wife. It was his father-in-law, Joseph Church, a boat-builder in the Government shipyard, who sent the couple their first present towards housekeeping, the "old oak table" on which Robert wrote out *The Farmer's Boy*, and about which he later composed the poem entitled *To My Old Oak Table*.¹⁴ At first the young couple lived in furnished lodgings; later they hired a room at 14 Bell Alley, Coleman Street. In the light garret above, Robert had the privilege of working at his trade. In the autumn of the year following the marriage, the first child, Hannah, was born. In December Robert wrote his father-in-law, enclosing a copy of some verses he had put down from memory, and adding the remark: "Before I was married, I often amused myself with such compositions, and had several pieces published in the newspapers, magazines, etc.; but I find other employment now . . ." ¹⁵ Evidently the desire to write verses was still working in him, a desire which was to express itself some five or six years later in the writing of his chief poem. It was the writing of this poem which was to change his whole manner of living, his outlook on life, his social standing, and even the environment of his relatives and descendants.

Bloomfield tells us that he began composing *The Farmer's Boy* after he had been married six years, and during the last illness of the poet Burns,—presumably, then, in the spring of 1797.¹⁶ The

¹⁴ *Wild Flowers*.

¹⁵ *Remains*, I, p. 12.

¹⁶ "He died but two months after I began composing *The Farmer's Boy*! though at that time, and long after, his death and his history were unknown to me." *Remains*, II, p. 78.

part of the poem first written was that describing the morning scene in *Spring*, beginning:

This task had Giles, in fields remote from home:
Oft had he wish'd the rosy morn to come.

(p. 10).

Inasmuch as Bloomfield composed nine-tenths of the poem as he worked at his last, with six or seven other workmen about, he had to remember the lines and write them down afterwards. For this reason, he says, he composed in rhyme, as the lines were easier to remember. *Winter* and half of *Autumn* were thus composed long before he committed a word of them to paper; the entire poem he wrote out but once, retaining no copy. Having had no instruction in grammar, he says, he did not pretend to know how to manage the "stops."

The manuscript of this poem Bloomfield first took, in June, 1798, to W. Bent, published of the *Universal Magazine*. Within a week or two it was returned, with an accompanying note stating that the publisher declined to criticise it. It was then offered by Bloomfield to Lane, publisher of novels. Lane sent it back within a few hours, with a brief, curt note, saying it was "not in his line." The manuscript was next offered to Dilly, in the *Poultry*. Dilly finally told Bloomfield that the poem would not do for separate publication unless he got someone to revise it. He advised Bloomfield to take it to the publisher Phillips, who might publish it for him in the *Monthly Magazine*; but since Bloomfield knew that he would have to pay five or six shillings for a copy to send to his mother—his primary object in publication—he did not do this, but sent it instead to his brother George, at Bury. With Robert's permission, George took the manuscript to Capel Lofft, at Troston. This was in November, 1798. Lofft, delighted with the poem, took it to Thomas Hill. It was immediately recommended to Hood for publication. The necessary revision and the general editing of the poem were undertaken by Lofft. Between the publication and this time, some fifteen months elapsed, a total period of almost two years after the poem was completed. During this period Robert, never of robust physique, was in poor health to the point of actual illness. Two months after his illness, *The Farmer's Boy* appeared "in sumptuous quarto," March, 1800; and soon Bloomfield received his first compensation, something under a hundred pounds, from the

Duke of Grafton. For a considerable period after this time Bloomfield's prosperity was assured. The publication of *The Farmer's Boy* was the most important event in his life.

The poem immediately became popular. In two years and three-quarters it ran up to the astonishing sale of 26,000 copies. One edition followed hard upon another.¹⁷ The entire poem was translated into French and Italian, and the first book was turned by some admirer into Latin.¹⁸ It was favorably mentioned by such papers as the *New London Review* and the *Monthly Mirror*; and it was reviewed by Mr. Swan in *The Ladies Museum*. Within a few weeks Bloomfield's fame had spread, and, in his own words, he "became known to the literary, and esteemed by the good." Fox sent him a letter in his own handwriting. Through the benevolence of the Duke of Grafton he was enabled to return to his native village in May, 1800, after an absence of twelve years. He visited at Bury, probably with his brother George, where he was received "with an emulous desire of his society"; visited his mother, an occasion of rare joy, no doubt; made himself at home at Troston, under the hospitality of Capel Lofft; and, by Sir Charles Bunbury and many other people in Suffolk, was given the "welcome of a friend and a countryman." On May 30, after his return to London, he wrote a poem, *On Revisiting the Place of My Nativity*, May, 1800.

For Bloomfield it was a day of favors at the hand of fortune. The Duke of Grafton renewed his benevolence in the form of an invitation to the entire family to spend a month at Wakefield Lodge. A considerable income was gradually produced; and Bloomfield enjoyed the recognition and the munificence of many friends and admirers. Notable among these was the Duke of York. High esteem for the poet's character, and pleasure in reading *The Farmer's Boy* were testified to by Nathan Drake, distinguished writer of books on Shakespeare; by many of Drake's friends, several of whom belonged to the clergy; by Mr. Green of Ipswich; by Mrs. Opie, the "Muse of Lichfield" and wife of the artist; and by many others. Charles Lamb, in a letter to Manning, speaks of having had the felicity of hearing Dyer read one book of *The Farmer's Boy*

¹⁷ There were at least fifteen.

¹⁸ Lofft says he saw the French version, and that it was handsomely printed, with neat copper-plate copies of the wood engravings by Bewick.

to a group of friends. Before meeting Bloomfield, Lamb seems to have had an unfavorable impression of him;¹⁹ but he wrote later to Bernard Barton: "I have been reading your stanzas 'On Bloomfield,' which are the most appropriate that can be imagined,—sweet with Doric delicacy . . . He dined with me once, and his manners took me exceedingly."

Some time after 1800, and before 1802, Bloomfield and his family moved to "a very small house" in the City Road. By September 13, 1801, the manuscript of *The Miller's Maid*, and probably that of others of the *Rural Tales*, was in the hands of the editor, Capel Lofft. This volume, made up chiefly of poems written during the fifteen months between the completion and the publication of *The Farmer's Boy*, included representative pieces like *Rosy Hannah*, *The Fakenham Ghost*, and *A Highland Drover*. While the volume was being printed Bloomfield got his first sight of *The Lyrical Ballads*.²⁰ In August, 1802, Coleridge wrote to Southey that he thought he might write a criticism highly satisfactory "to the admirers of the poet Bloomfield, and to the friends of the man Bloomfield."²¹ Coleridge's projected plan, much to our regret, was never carried out. On the word of Bloomfield's son, a printer, Chambers says that "Mr. Rogers exerted himself to procure a pension for Bloomfield, and Mr. Southey also took much interest in his welfare. . . ."²²

¹⁹ Cf. *Letters*, I, p. 218, and pp. 118-19 (Ainger ed.)

²⁰ Bloomfield's discriminating appreciation of Wordsworth's early work has, so far as I am aware, hitherto gone unnoticed. In *Remains*, II, p. 119, Bloomfield writes:

"I go with pleasure and anxiety along with 'Betty Fay' (Foy?) by moonlight: it is truly a charming night. 'The Thorn,' with all its simplicity, I shall never forget. 'Simon Lee,' 'We are Seven,' and 'The Nightingale,' in their Eve-like nakedness, I feel greatly pleased with. *Resolved* to read them through attentively."

"I don't much relish 'The Pet Lamb.' The 'Poet's Reverie' (Dream?) sounds too much like a madman's reverie. It should not be in the same book with 'Michael' and 'The Brothers.'"

It seems not improbable that, through Coleridge, if not directly, Wordsworth knew of Bloomfield's poetry; possible, even, that he read some of it and gathered suggestions from it. It would be quite in accord with the manner of Wordsworth, whose intellectual egotism is outstanding, to make no reference whatever to Bloomfield.

²¹ *Letters*, I, p. 395.

²² Probably Charles, at Canterbury. v. Chambers, II, p. 284 (ed. 1868).

In the years that immediately follow, there is nothing noteworthy. According to Mr. Bullen, Bloomfield received from the Duke of Grafton the post of undersealer in the Seal Office; and later, when he had resigned the office on account of ill health, received from the Duke an allowance of a shilling a day. After leaving the Seal Office Bloomfield employed himself making Æolian harps; then he engaged in the book trade, but soon became bankrupt.²³ In 1803, on the anniversary of the birthday of Dr. Jenner, the discoverer of smallpox vaccine, Bloomfield sang a song of his own composition; and the next year published *Good Tidings*, a poem dealing with the subject of vaccination, and recounting also his father's death. This poem so pleased Dr. Jenner that he presented the author with "a durable and gratifying memorial of his esteem." In December of this year, Bloomfield composed the poem *My Old Oak Table*. In the summer of the year following, 1804, Bloomfield's mother made her last visit to London. In December she died as the result of a paralytic stroke; and the Duke of Grafton erected a tombstone over her grave. In 1805, Bloomfield's sister Elizabeth, who was living at Georgetown, Virginia, wrote: "Your poems, etc., make quite a bustle here; they are printing again at New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia; and before I left Philadelphia the Governor of the State sent for me."²⁴ In the summer of 1807²⁵ Bloomfield made a tour down the River Wye and through a part of South Wales with a party of friends from Gloucestershire. He kept a journal of the trip; and four years later published a long poem on the subject, called *The Banks of Wye*. Between this date and 1823 Bloomfield's income from his writings diminished appre-

²³ Both circumstances are mentioned also by *Americana* (III) and Chambers, probably following W. H. Hart's *Selections from the Correspondence of Robert Bloomfield*, London, 1870. For reprint of pamphlet, *Nature's Music*, etc. and *Poetical Testimonials in Honour of the Harp of Aeolus*, see *Remains*, I, pp. 93 et seq.

²⁴ Brayley, p. 19. It appears that the Governor, whose name was Bloomfield, wished to find himself related to the poet. Bloomfield at one time had considerable vogue in America, as the following partial list of American editions indicates: *The Farmer's Boy*, five; *Wild Flowers*, one; *The Banks of Wye*; *The Fakenham Ghost* (Rural Tales), two. Collections: *The Farmer's Boy*, *Rural Tales*, etc., 1803; *Poems*, two parts in four vols., 1803; *Poems*, 1821.

²⁵ Bullen says 1811.

ciably; and he retired to Shefford, Bedfordshire, where he remained until his death.

Of the details of the closing period of Bloomfield's life little that is definite is known. The chief circumstances are that his health declined, his income was reduced, and he published three volumes. In June, 1814, he made a short trip to Canterbury and Dover. Three years later he published his volume *May Day with the Muses*.²⁵ In 1823, the last year of the poet's life, he published a three-act drama entitled *Hazelwood Hall*. Bloomfield died on August 19, 1823, aged fifty-seven years. He left a widow and four children.

II

It was *The Farmer's Boy* that made Bloomfield's reputation.²⁷ Written for the common people, the poem celebrates, through the several seasons, the activities of the farmer folk. The dominant note is clearly moral and religious. But pervading the poem are other qualities: a kindly and gentle spirit, a strong human sympathy, a modest independence, and a philosophic calm that outfaces and rises superior to poverty, hardship, and sordidness in life. Reflecting the lives of the very humble and the very poor, the poem redeems their sorrows, even while it sweetens their occasional joys; it consoles and comforts; and it points the way to an enduring happiness. *The Farmer's Boy* is a democratic poem written before the democratic idea became widespread; before, indeed, it was generally current. It sprang from native soil. Its material, too, was a first-hand discovery. Its readers were no doubt as much surprised to find that poetry lay all about them as the author was delighted to discover that life among the very humble and the very poor is worthy of being celebrated in poetry.

The moral quality of *The Farmer's Boy* is at times almost pathetic in its naïveté. "The Farmer's life," says Bloomfield,

. . . displays in every part
A moral lesson to the sensual heart, (*Summer*, p. 27).

²⁵ Bullen gives date of 2d edn. 1822 instead of 1817.

²⁷ Bloomfield's principal works are: *The Farmer's Boy*, 1800; *Rural Tales, Ballads and Songs*, 1802; *Good Tidings*, 1804; *Wild Flowers*, 1806; *The Banks of Wye*, 1811; *May Day with the Muses*, 1817; *Hazelwood Hall, a Village Drama*, 1823; *The Remains of Robert Bloomfield*, edited by Joseph Weston, 2 vols., 1824.

and even if one knows that things must be strained somewhat to find it so, one cannot altogether withhold a certain admiration for the moral quality of the soul capable of finding it in such surroundings, for,

. . . where the joy, if rightly understood,
Like cheerful praise for universal good? (*Ib.*, p. 43).

This active perception of the moral purpose of the universe is, consciously or otherwise, the poet's answer to those who held that nature denied God and His purposes. Nature, in Bloomfield, is a medium of redemption from the sense of human sin and abasement.

This sweet and pensive if somewhat indiscriminating moral perception is at times transfused into religion by Bloomfield; for the beauty of nature "stamps devotion on th' inquiring mind."²⁸ In the summer season, the "ripening Harvest rustles in the gale," and Giles, the farm boy, enjoys the view of nature:

A glorious sight, . . .
That glads the Ploughman's Sunday morning's round,
.
The Tow'ring fabric, or the dome's loud roar,
And stedfast columns, may astonish more,
Where the charmed gazer long delighted stays,
Yet traced but to the *architect* the praise;
Whilst here, the veriest clown that treads the sod,
Without one scruple gives the praise to God.

Something approaching religious elevation is found in the closing lines of the poem:

ETERNAL POWER! from whom those blessings flow,
Teach me still to wonder, more to know:
.
And let me ever, midst my bounties, raise
An humble note of thankfulness and praise! (*Winter*, p. 99).

As Weston says, Bloomfield's prevailing aim was "to fill the heart with that holy awe, which the silent contemplation of infinite goodness alone can inspire."²⁹

As Bloomfield treats it, this moral and religious sentiment broadens out into something of a social philosophy:

²⁸ *Spring*, p. 6.

²⁹ *Remains*, I, xvii.

Thine heart should feel, what thou may'st hourly see,
That duty's basis is humanity. (Winter, p. 63).

No poet, not even Burns, is more democratic than Bloomfield. His conception of democracy is based, however, not so much upon a sense of justice and political rights, though these are occasionally referred to, as upon man's inalienable right, irrespective of rank, to a measure of human happiness. Throughout Bloomfield's poetry the "sweet theme is universal joy."²⁰ Even

To him whose drudgery unheeded goes,
 His joys unreckon'd as his cares or woes, (Spring, p. 4).

this is so. To Giles, "meek, fatherless, and poor," "labour his portion,"

. . . as revolving SEASONS chang'd the scene
 From heat to cold, tempestuous to serene,
 Though every change still varied his employ,
 Yet each new duty brought its share of joy. (Spring, p. 5).

Any social philosophy dealing with abuses is bound to be largely negative in its expressions; sometimes it is bitter. Bloomfield is never bitter. But he resents the injustice and the iniquity of false class distinctions with a spirit that frequently reminds one of Burns.²¹ Speaking of the harvest festival, he recalls the day

Ere tyrant customs strength sufficient bore
 To violate the feelings of the poor;
 To leave them distanc'd in the madd'ning race,
 Where'er Refinement shews its hated face:
 Nor causeless hatred:—'tis the peasant's curse,

²⁰ Spring, p. 23.

²¹ Cf. the following: "The sovereign contempt with which too many of the wealthy, and (I fear also) of the learned, look upon what are termed 'the dregs of the people,' has often raised an equal contempt on my side, for that wealth, which engenders such thought of immense distance, which these 'dregs are from the surface.'" *Remains*, II, p. 71. Also the passage: "I feel peculiarly gratified in finding that a poor man in England may assert the dignity of Virtue, and speak of the imperishable beauties of Nature, and be heard, and heard, perhaps, with greater attention for his being poor." Pref. to *Rural Tales*, p. iv. Cf. also:

Teach me unjust distinctions to deride,
 And falsehoods gender'd in the brain of Pride.
 (To *My Old Oak Table*, p. 28).

That hourly makes his wretched station worse;
 Destroys life's intercourse; the social plan
 That rank to rank cements, as man to man. (*Summer*, p. 46).

Still, Bloomfield is able to say that

. . . not one lying line to riches bows,
 Or poison'd sentiment from rancour flows. (*Autumn*, p. 71).

A natural accompaniment of this democratic feeling for humanity displayed by Bloomfield is a marked sympathy for animals, a sentiment by no means familiar then as now. There is no mawkishness. With sense as well as sentiment the lot of the farm-horse is compared with that of the post-horse:

Thy chains were freedom, and thy toils repose,
 Could the poor *post-horse* tell thee all his woes;

.
 Drops chase each other down his chest and sides,
 And spatter'd mud his native color hides:
 Thro' his swoln veins the boiling torrent flows,
 And every nerve a separate torture knows.

(*Winter*, pp. 86-87).

Bloomfield does not limit the influence of nature to morals and religion, nor even to a social philosophy that includes sympathy for animal life. Throughout *The Farmer's Boy* there are passages of pure zest in life and of the love of action for its own sake. Such a passage is that describing the hunt:

For now the pack, impatient rushing on,
 Range through the darkest coverts one by one;
 Trace every spot; whilst down each noble glade
 That guides the eye beneath a changeful shade,
 The loit'ring sportsman feels the instinctive flame,
 And checks his steed to mark the springing game.
 Midst intersecting cuts and winding ways
 The huntsman cheers his dogs, and anxious strays
 Where every narrow riding, even shorn,
 Gives back the echo of his mellow horn:

.
 His lifted finger to his ear he plies,
 And the view halloo bids a chorus rise
 Of Dogs quick-mouth'd, and shouts that mingle loud,
 As bursting thunder rolls from cloud to cloud.
 With ears erect, and chest of vigorous mould,
 O'er ditch, o'er fence, unconquerably bold,

The shining Courser lengthens every bound,
 And his strong foot-locks suck the moisten'd ground,
 As from the confines of the wood they pour,
 And joyous villages partake the roar. (*Autumn*, pp. 68-69).

This is not great descriptive poetry; some of it is not even good; but it is not lacking in vigor; and a phrase or two like "Dogs quick-mouth'd" and "Chest of vigorous mould" have the real imaginative touch. The lines remind one of Scott's:

Yell'd on the view the opening pack;
 Rock, glen, and cavern paid them back.

Of actual poetical felicities in *The Farmer's Boy* there are few. That there should prove to be any in a poem which so commonly moves on a plane of uninspired expression is perhaps occasion for surprise. Yet here and there are found even beautiful conceptions, phrased in delicate and not infelicitous form. Such a passage is that in *Spring*:

Where blows the woodbine, faintly streak'd with red,
 And rests on every bough its tender head;
 Round the young ash its twining branches meet
 Or crown the hawthorn with its odors sweet. (p. 20).

In *Autumn* Bloomfield speaks of the fox-hound in the hunt

Foremost o'er fen or level mead to pass,
 And sweep the show'ring dew-drops from the grass. (p. 71).

This passage reminds us of the lines in Shakespeare descriptive of the hounds whose heads are hung "with ears that sweep away the morning dew," though it is doubtful if Bloomfield ever saw the passage. Or again, when Giles, in early spring, has gone out to the fields:

The sporting White-throat on some twig's end borne,
 Pour'd hymns to Freedom and the rising Morn;
 Stopt in her song perchance the starting Thrush,
 Shook a white shower from the black-thorn bush,
 Where dew-drops thick as early blossoms hung,
 And trembled as the minstrel sweetly sung. (p. 11).

Such a passage, though somewhat unduly moralized, yet gives token of a fidelity of observation and a delicacy of appreciation of the beauty of nature attained by few poets. The picture of the thrush, sitting on the black-thorn bush hung with dew-drops that "trem-

bled as the minstrel sweetly sung," is not unworthy of Tennyson at his best. Surely this is as good as the lines in *In Memoriam*:

And on these dews that drench the furze,
And all the silvery gossamers
That twinkle into green and gold, (Poem XI).

and this, as portraying the minuter features of nature, is regarded as one of the poet's perfect pictures.

III

As it was *The Farmer's Boy* that made Bloomfield's reputation, critics have not unnaturally given it most attention. But it is not Bloomfield's best poetry. His best poetry is to be found in his later work and among his occasional poems. These poems are far from being of equal quality; none is of supreme worth; yet there are some that would honor the name of Burns or Wordsworth. The themes of some of these poems appear in *The Farmer's Boy*; but there are other themes and more distinctive notes that especially characterize the later poems.

One of the sweetest notes in Bloomfield,—a note pervading *The Farmer's Boy* but never so charmingly expressed as in his later poems—is his love of the country. Like Wordsworth, Bloomfield was no city poet. And he loved the country, not merely as an escape from the city, but because of the moral and intellectual stimulus it afforded his mind, and because it brought him a supreme joy and happiness. His *Love of the Country*, of which I have quoted the first and last stanzas, reveals this with genuine poetic fervor:

Welcome silence! welcome peace!
O most welcome, holy shade!
Thus I prove as years increase,
My heart and soul for quiet made.
Thus I fix my firm belief
While rapture's gushing tears descend,
There every flower and every leaf
Is moral Truth's unerring friend.

Build me a shrine, and I could kneel
To Rural Gods, or prostrate fall;
Did I not see, did I not feel
That one GREAT SPIRIT governs all.
O heav'n permit that I may lie
Where o'er my corse green branches wave;

And those who from life's tumult fly
With kindred feelings press my grave.

(*Wild Flowers*, p. 89).

Though not so happily expressed, these lines contain a thought and sentiment identical with that in *Tintern Abbey*:

A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought.
And rolls through all things.

For Bloomfield, love of country was synonymous with love of nature. Love of nature pervades the poem *The Banks of Wye*, and though I do not consider this one of Bloomfield's best poems, there are passages in it that tempt one to quote. A more felicitous expression, however, is found in *Shooter's Hill*. In poor health, Bloomfield seeks the restorative and rejuvenating influence of nature:

I seek thee where, with all his might,
The joyous bird his rapture tells,
Amidst the half-excluded light,
That gilds the fox-glove's pendent bells;
Where, cheerly up this gold hill's side
The deep'ning groves triumphant climb;
In groves Delight and Peace abide,
And Wisdom marks the lapse of time.

I love to mark the flow'ret's eye,
To rest where pebbles form my bed,
Where shapes and colors scatter'd lie
In varying millions round my head.
The soul rejoices when alone,
And feels her glorious empire free;
Sees God in every shining stone,
And revels in variety.

(*Wild Flowers*).

Much of this, surely, is equal to Wordsworth; and the idea of the last few lines, original and underived by Bloomfield, is identical with the idea expressed by that poet of nature.

Love of the country was for Bloomfield intimately connected with another of his poetical conceptions: love of native land. England has had poets of infinitely superior genius; but she has had no more ardent patriot than Bloomfield. In *Barnham Water* we find these lines:

Whatever hurts my country's fame,
When wits and mountaineers deride,

To me grows serious, for I name
My native plains and streams with pride.

And in *The Banks of Wye* there is a patriotic outburst beginning:

May heav'n preserve our native land
From blind ambition's murdering hand.

Bloomfield was a pacifist; and in his love of peace and his hatred of the horrors of war, as well as in the vigor and beauty of his expression, he reminds one occasionally of Tennyson. He does so in the following lines

E'en all the joy that Vict'ry brings
(Her bellowing Guns, her flaming pride)
Cold, momentary comfort flings
Around where weeping friends reside.

Whose blighted bud no Sun shall cheer,
Whose Lamp of Life no longer shine:
Some Parent, Brother, Child, most dear,
Who ventur'd, and who died like mine.

Proud created Fiend, the World's worst foe,
Ambition; canst thou boast one deed,
Whence no unsightly horrors flow,
Nor private peace is seen to bleed. (*The French Mariner*).

A patriotic fervor is found, expressed with a power worthy of Burns or Scott, in the *Song for a Highland Rover Returning from England*:

O Ghosts of my Fathers! O heroes look down!
Fix my wandering thoughts on your deeds of renown,
For the glory of Scotland reigns warm in my breast,
And fortitude grows both from toil and from rest;
May your deeds and your worth be for ever in view,
And my Maggy bear sons not unworthy of you. (*Rural Tales*).

Bloomfield, as we know, was acquainted with Burns' work. In *The Banks of Wye* he pays Burns a fine tribute, not unconnected with the theme of patriotism, that we might pause to note:

SPIRIT OF BURNS! the daring child
Of glorious freedom, rough and wild,
How have I wept o'er all thy ills,
How blest thy Caledonian hills!
How almost worshipp'd in my dreams
Thy mountain haunts,—thy classic streams!
How burnt with hopeless, aimless fire,

To mark thy giant strength aspire
 In patriot themes! and tun'd the while
 Thy "Bonny Doon," or "Ballock Mile."

In humor, especially in range of perspective, Bloomfield rivals Burns, whom he evidently emulated in many ways, just as he surpasses Wordsworth, whose rustic themes and simple style he manifestly admired. Wordsworth, in spite of his assurance that he has at all times endeavored to look steadily at his object, invariably began with an emotion. The inner experience, not the object, is always his starting point. Chancing upon the biblical phrase: "their life is hidden with God," Wordsworth was deeply moved; the emotion awakened he connected by chance with idiots; whereupon, in all seriousness, he gave us the foolish poem, *The Idiot Boy*, feeling aggrieved even with those of his readers incapable of finding there the depth of emotion he said it contained. From this kind of absurdity, at least, Bloomfield's humor saved him in wholesome fashion. Not only did his humor enable him to take his sorrows and his difficulties with a laugh; it enabled him to laugh, and laugh heartily, when a situation was simply and purely ridiculous. Such a laugh rings out in *The Fakenham Ghost*. A woman, making her way home in the dark, saw a ghost. She fled in terror; but the "trotting Ghost kept on the same!" Finally, the poor woman fell in a faint at her door. As husband and children rush to her rescue, they find the ghost to be "an Ass's Foal" that had "lost its Dam." Thereupon

They took the shaggy stranger in,
 And rear'd him as their own.

And Bloomfield concludes:

A favorite the Ghost became;
 And, 'twas his fate to thrive;
 And long he liv'd and spread his fame,
 And kept the joke alive. (Rural Tales).

Bloomfield's handling of this amusing situation gives token of an ability elsewhere displayed effectively: the ability to tell a story. This ability is shown at its best in *The Miller's Maid*.⁸² A child,

⁸² Cf. also *Alfred and Jennet*, in *May Day with the Muses*, the simple and touching story of the love of a blind youth, a member of the aristocracy, for an animated, joyous maid, the daughter of a yeoman. The poem is marked by fine characterization and delicate feeling.

an orphan girl of ten years, shamefully abused by her foster mother, runs away and seeks refuge in the home of the miller and his wife, who are childless. She is taken in, becomes their maid, and is kindly treated. Six years later the miller brings home "a sturdy youth" to assist him in the mill. Soon the youth and the maid fall in love, only to discover that the youth is the girl's brother who had gone off when their mother died, years before. As they had learned to love, not as brother and sister, but as lover and sweetheart, their new-found happiness was stung with sorrow. Then the youth recalled a remark made by his dying mother that both children were not hers. They plan, accordingly, to go and search the records. Just as they are about to start out, a poor old soldier, back from the wars, seeking his children and his former home, arrives on the scene. It soon appears that the old soldier is the father of the maid; the youth, a sister's son; and there is "clear the road for Nature and for Love." The old man is taken into the home; and all settle down in immeasurable happiness.

This story is frankly romantic, as Bloomfield's stories and situations always are; but it is told with considerable skill, dramatic power, and impressiveness. Is it surprising that the poor, who chiefly read these stories, knowing as they did, so much unhappiness and sorrow at first hand, preferred a story closing in a scene of ineffable happiness? And is such a preference after all not an eloquent tribute to the worth and beauty of the central theme of all Bloomfield's poetry: the inalienable right of man to a measure of joy and happiness in life?

This note of happiness rises to heights of true lyric quality in a few of the poems, and these, it seems to me, represent the poet's finest achievement. I shall quote two of these poems: the first, *Rosy Hannah*, a song in *Rural Tales*:

A Spring, o'erhung with many a flow'r,
The grey sand dancing in its bed,
Embank'd beneath a Hawthorn bower,
Sent forth its water near my head:
A rosy Lass approach'd my view;
I caught her blue eye's modest beam:
The stranger nodded "How d'ye do!"
And leap'd across the infant stream.

The water heedless pass'd away;
With me her glowing image stay'd:

I strove, from that auspicious day,
 To meet and bless the lovely Maid,
 I met her where beneath our feet
 Through downy Moss the wild Thyme grew;
 Nor Moss elastic, flow'rs sweet,
 Match'd Hannah's cheek of rosy hue.

I met her where the dark Woods wave,
 And shaded verdure skirts the plain;
 And when the pale Moon rising gave
 New glories to her cloudy train.
 From her sweet cot upon the Moor
 Our plighted vows to Heaven are flown;
 Truth made me welcome at her door,
 And rosy Hannah is my own.

The sweet and delicate sentiment of this poem, fusing, as it does, a fine joy in nature and the happiness of man, is surpassed in Bloomfield only by another poem, *Mary's Evening Sigh*, found in *Wild Flowers*. As the lover Edward approaches the valley-home of his sweetheart Mary, he pauses, touched by the glory of the sunset, on a neighboring hilltop. Mary, seeing him, breathes a sigh at his delay:

How bright with pearl the western sky!
 How glorious far and wide.
 Yon lines of golden clouds that lie
 So peaceful side by side!
 Their deep'ning tints, the arch of light,
 All eyes with rapture see;
 E'en while I sigh I bless the sight
 That lures my love from me.

Descend, my love, the hour is come,
 Why linger on the hill?
 The sun hath left my quiet home,
 But thou canst see him still;
 Yet why a lonely wanderer stray,
 Alone the joy pursue?
 The glories of the closing day
 Can charm thy Mary too.

Dear Edward, when we strolled along
 Beneath the waving corn,
 And both confess'd the power of song,
 And blest the dewy morn;
 Your eye o'erflowed, "How sweet," you cried,
 (My presence then could move)

"How sweet, with Mary by my side,
 "To gaze and talk of love!"

Thou art not false! that cannot be;
 Yet I my rivals deem
 Each woodland charm, the moss, the tree,
 The silence and the stream;
 Whate'er, my love, detains thee now,
 I'll yet forgive thy stay;
 But with to-morrow's dawn come thou,
 We'll brush the dews away.

The subtlety and delicacy with which the sweetheart in this poem²³ is made to appear jealous of the beauties of nature, and the implied gentleness of the lover are justly comparable with the ineffable loveliness of the most delicate lyrics of Burns. It is true poetic quality.

IV

Mr. Gosse considers Bloomfield and his work "quite outside the main channels of literary activity." In the sense that Bloomfield did not come directly under the influence of his literary predecessors, and that he did not actively co-operate in the ideals of contemporary poets, the statement is true; but in the sense that he had no part in literary and social movements of his day, had alien interests and wrote upon exotic themes, or that his poetry is uniformly without merit, it is not true. In England, as in France, in Bloomfield's day, writers had begun to dwell upon the inequalities of man. When Rousseau rejected the positive idea of duty,²⁴ and adopted sensibility as the rule of conduct, he struck a spark which soon became a conflagration, wiping out one side of French life. On the issue involved, England split fairly into two camps. On the radical side the idealists were for making a clean sweep of established government, law, tradition, and belief. Byron represented the passion of this movement. Burns, like Wordsworth in his adolescence, believed that some supreme effort of humanity might swiftly transform social wrong into right. Shelley expressed the pure ideal of the movement dreaming of what humanity might become through the beauty of saving power of intense passion. On the conservative side stood another group of poets, representing

²³ Second stanza omitted.

²⁴ Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty* was England's supreme poetical answer.

a different ideal. With this side Bloomfield unconsciously aligned himself. Of the suffering and misery out of which radical theories spring, he had abundant personal experience and knowledge; he ardently believed in progress and reform; and he loved freedom with an intensified passion; but he had no sympathy with the extreme radicalism of his time, with the root-and-branch theories that demanded sudden and violent changes in institutions, conditions, and beliefs. Bloomfield pointed to a remedy for the ills of life, not in political and social revolution, assuredly not in war, but in the cultivation of the simple and the homely virtues, in the development of happiness within each heart and home, and in a harmonious adaptation of man to the life of nature. This note, first struck clearly in poetry by Goldsmith and Cowper, later transmuted by the exalted genius of Wordsworth into rapturous and mystical communion with nature as a basis for the happiness of man, was also Bloomfield's own. It was as clear as it was independent; and it puts Bloomfield fairly in the main current of literary movements. And if his influence upon men of genius is finally negligible, though that may be questioned, his influence upon the hearts of the common people was a power. Bloomfield receives no credit for helping to prepare the way for Wordsworth; but in the hearts of thousands of rustic folk the seed for the fine flower of Wordsworth's poetry was implanted by this humble poet.⁸⁵

It was Bloomfield's limitations that prevented him from being a more effective influence in the literary and social movements of his day. To review those limitations in detail would be superfluous. Bloomfield's great limitations, limitations which effectively exclude him from the rank of even the second order of poets, are lack of passion, of profound thought, and of felicitous expression. All might be summed up in saying he lacked imagination. His delicate health; his shy, sensitive nature; and the seclusion of his personal habits were not favorable to the development of that kind of power. To Bloomfield, the controlling forces of life meant more than the impelling forces. The general excellence of his lyrics is below that of Burns, just as the general excellence of his romantic narrative is below that of Scott, and his interpretation of nature below that

⁸⁵ Mr. Weston observes: "I have been informed by persons who travel into every quarter of the country, that almost the only books they frequently find, are the Bible and the poems of Bloomfield." *Remains*, I, xvii.

of Wordsworth; for Bloomfield's work, beautiful and effective as it is occasionally, is sustained on no uniform level. Just as Longfellow *tells* us that life is real, life is earnest; and Shakespeare *shows* us that it is both real and earnest; so Bloomfield *tells* us that nature is a source of moral and intellectual inspiration, and the true source of human happiness and faith; but he fails to *show* us, as does Wordsworth, that it is so. Wordsworth did not kill Bloomfield poetically; but the impassioned feeling, the imaginative reach and fervor, and the power and music of the verse of Wordsworth and his school so far surpassed Bloomfield, even at his best, as soon to bury his name in oblivion.

But Bloomfield's limitations are offset, in some measure, by virtues that have been unjustly neglected and ignored, virtues that call for fuller recognition and appreciation: simplicity and sweetness of character, moral earnestness, religious sincerity, democratic sympathy both for his fellowman and for animal life, humor, independence, active and sustained love of nature, confident faith in a reasonable promise of social equality and in man's inalienable right to a measure of happiness on this earth. Bloomfield wrote as he lived, and he lived a good life. Of him, too, it can truly be said that he uttered nothing base. He lacked training in the poetic art, even as he lacked in the endowments that make for impassioned writing; but he displayed compensating qualities not possessed by many of those at whose feet he would be the first to lay his tribute; he rose superior to his environment; vindicated the general rightness of his poetical reaction on life; and created some of the sweetest among the occasional notes of our poetry.

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AN ILL-ADVISED CRITICISM OF *CYRANO DE BERGERAC*

BY A. G. H. SPIERS

Amid the faultfinding inevitably produced by the popularity of Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*, there is one form of attack against which university teachers should protest vigorously. This is an attack based upon little matters of historical documentation. It may be wise to point out inaccuracies as a warning to embryo specialists in investigation classes; it is useful, too, in literature courses, to study these inaccuracies as a commentary upon the way in which creative literature may be based upon history. But to make of these inaccuracies, in and of themselves, a condemnation of a bit of literary art, is a proof of narrowness and a serious professional mistake.

This mistake has been made by M. E. Magne. He made it originally in an article of the *Revue de France*; and this article drew from Rostand a letter which should have checked the ardor of his misplaced erudition. Unfortunately M. Magne did not take the hint. He developed from this article a little book¹ that has had at least two editions and in which it has pleased him, not only to repeat his fundamental mistake, but also to include certain errors in his own documentation which permit us to turn against him his own weapons.

Let us take a few examples. Magne suggests that Baro was a very insignificant figure in his day, and states that his plays "à part *la Clorise*, n'eurent point . . . les honneurs de l'impression." This second point is easily contradicted by a glance at Brunet who lists eight plays that were printed; and as for the first, its accuracy too may well be questioned. Without going as far as Mellier who speaks of Baro as "le littérateur et le poète dont la gloire, à l'époque où il vivait, aurait suffi à rendre illustres à la fois plusieurs hommes"²; we may say that Baro was certainly not a "nobody." He was supported by Richelieu, by the Duchesse de Chevreuse and by Mademoiselle. He wrote the latter portion of the immensely

¹ *Le Cyrano de l'Histoire* (les Erreurs de documentation de "Cyrano de Bergerac"); Deuxième édition, Paris, 1903.

² Etienne Mellier: *Balthazar Baro*. Valence, 1897; p. 60.

popular *Astrée*, the fourth part being composed on notes left by d'Urfé and the fifth independently. He was early received into the Academy and was one of the three men, the other two being Chapelain and Desmarests, appointed to examine the verses of the *Cid*. Somewhat later he became the "Procureur du Roi au Présidial de Valence" and, according to some, including Pellisson, became also, at one time, the "Trésorier de France" at Montpellier.³ Lastly, a fact which I give for what it may be worth, his publishers thought enough of him to reproduce his portrait in at least three different editions of the *Astrée*.

In speaking of Montfleury, Magne quotes the statement: "Il joua d'original dans *le Cid* et dans *les Horaces*." This quotation is no doubt taken from Lemazurier⁴; but Lemazurier's statement has long since been discredited. As a quotation from Scudéry indicates, it was not Montfleury but rather Mondory who created the rôle of Rodrigue.⁵

On page 25 Magne writes: "M. Rostand parle-t-il d'une gazette? Il oublie la date de sa fondation. Tel le *Mercur françois*, fondé en 1672, et dont Cyrano méprise la puissance en 1640." Not at all. Here it is the professional investigator, and not the literary artist, who is at fault. Magne confuses the gazette founded by Donneau de Visé in 1672, with the publication started by Jean Richer in 1605 and which, in 1640, was managed by Renaudot.⁶

Much of Magne's contempt for Rostand's play is based upon the fact that Rostand's first act represents a performance of Baro's *Clorise* as taking place in 1640. This, according to Magne, is "l'erreur principale sur laquelle vient se greffer une multitude de fautes." But what if this was not an error at all?

Magne points out that *la Clorise* was first played in 1631; and when Rostand explains that "nous sommes à un reprise de *Clorise*," he maintains that such a revival did not take place: that the play was not worth reviving and that the great production of other plays at that time would keep it off the stage. To this abstract argumentation, it is possible, however, to oppose certain probabilities that more than justify Rostand's assumption.

³ Mellier, *op. cit.*

⁴ Cf. Chappuzeau: *Le Théâtre françois*; Monval's edition, p. 115.

⁵ Grands Ecrivains, Corneille, III, p. 13.

⁶ Hatin: *Bibliographie de la presse*.

The question is somewhat complicated because the quarrel between Montfleury and Cyrano, that occurs in Rostand's first act, is usually reported as taking place at a performance of a play by Baro called *Cloreste* (and not *Clorise*).⁷ The fact seems to be, however, either that Baro wrote a play *Cloreste* (or *Cleoreste*) which was played but never printed,⁸ or else that a mistake on the part of the *Gazette* led to the belief that Baro had written such a play whereas, in reality, the performance to which the *Gazette* refers was merely a revival of the *Clorise*. This latter alternative has received much support. It is in accord with a supposition made by the Frères Parfait⁹; it would better explain the absence of printed copies; and I note that it is accepted by Mellier.¹⁰

Lacking, then, any adequate proof against the revival of *la Clorise* and having, on the contrary, good ground for belief that it may have been given in 1636 as well as in 1631, it is hard to see how any critic could censure Rostand for supposing that this play was again performed in 1640.

But, after all, it is not the points just made that are the most unfortunate features of Magne's volume. His mistake is more fundamental, and consists in nothing less than a misconception of the conditions governing the composition of a good play. Erudition is one thing; creation is another. The playwright has the right, even when dealing with a historic subject, to make any changes he desires in the facts, his one check being the preconceptions of the theatrical public of his day. Supported by a passage from Aristotle, Corneille claimed this right even for a writer

⁷ See, for instance, *Anecdotes dramatiques* (1775), pp. 210-211; V. Fournel: *Curiosités théâtrales* (1859), p. 150; P. A. Brun: *Savinien de Cyrano Bergerac*, p. 121. The *Menagiana* does not give the name of the play.

⁸ Brunet lists no such play; nor has the Bibliothèque Nationale any copy of it.

⁹ The passage from the Frères Parfait runs as follows: ". . . nous croyons que l'Auteur de la *Gazette* . . . peut s'être trompé, & que la *Oléoriste* en question, est la même *Clorise* de Baro, qui avoit paru dès 1631." (*Histoire du Théâtre françois*, under date of 1636.)

¹⁰ "Cette pièce (*la Clorise*) . . . fut jouée à l'hôtel de Bourgogne en 1631 & reprise en 1636 & 1637 par les troupes de Bellerose & Montdoré. La *Gazette de France* l'ayant annoncé sous le titre de *Cloreste*, plusieurs auteurs ont attribué par erreur à Baro une pièce de ce nom." *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

of tragedy¹¹; and it has been exercised by all great dramatists. Rostand's audience certainly knew nothing of the date of *la Clorise*, nor could they detect other inaccuracies condemned by Magne.¹² In fact, of the many inaccuracies upon which Magne insists with so much vehemence, there are but two which, judged from the proper point of view, can be considered well-founded: it was perhaps unwise of Rostand to show us two men duelling under the eyes of Richelieu well-known for his repressive measures against this habit; and it is impossible, too, that the credulity of many spectators was strained by hearing of a performance of the *Fourberies de Scapin* at a date when all school children have learned that Molière had not yet returned to Paris from the provinces. Yet it is possible that even this last was not so much of a mistake. Dates are not readily retained; have we not all heard of the speech of a newly inducted Academician who found fault with Molière for not having protested against the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes?

There is another principle of dramatic composition which, far from subjecting the playwright to the domination of history, requires him at times to put into his plays things which he knows to be inaccurate. "Souvent," says Victor Hugo,¹³ "les fables du peuple font la vérité du poète" and in this he is but echoing the idea of others, such as Racine, for instance.¹⁴ It is by the operation of this principle that we find many an anachronism in *Cyrano de Bergerac* of which Rostand was surely conscious.¹⁵ Such for instance is the fifteen sous given as the price of admission to the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1640, due no doubt to the well-known lines

¹¹ See, for instance, in the *Second Discours*: "Si vous me demandez jusqu'où peut s'étendre cette liberté qu'a le poët d'aller contre la vérité . . . il (i. e., ce privilège) doit être plus où moins resserré, selon que les sujets sont plus ou moins connus."

¹² E. g., the exact name of Roxane was Robineau, not Robin; d'Artagnan did not enter the guards till 1644; Cyrano was not an only child; Cyrano probably did not know Ragueneau, etc.

¹³ Preface to *Lucrèce Borgia*. Oeuvres Complètes, III, p. 6. 1833.

¹⁴ ". . . ici . . . Andromaque ne connoît point d'autre mari qu'Hector, ni d'autre fils qu'Astyanax. J'ai cru en cela me conformer à l'idée que nous avons maintenant de cette princesse." *Seconde Préface* of *Andromaque*.

¹⁵ In his letter to Magne already referred to, Rostand writes: "Je suis même certain, si complet que soit votre article, qu'il y en a (des anachronismes) un ou deux que je pourrais vous signaler."

of Boileau's Satire IX.¹⁶ Such, too, is Rostand's picture of Montfleury. In his own day Montfleury was popular and much admired¹⁷ but the only idea of Montfleury held by Rostand's audiences, was that given by Molière in his *Impromptu*; and Rostand has been so true to that picture that, out of Molière's adjective *entripaillé*, he has made a verb *désentripailler*.¹⁸ It is likewise in accord with this same principle that Rostand brings into his play another memory of Molière. Desiring to put before his audience the disorderliness of the old theatres, he translated into action certain lines of the *Fâcheux*.¹⁹ It is on them, amplified by details taken from the *Curiosités théâtrales*, that he bases the behavior of the marquis who interrupts the performance by calling for a chair.

What Rostand did in the case of these details, he also did in the portrayal of the hero of his play. Magne becomes sarcastic when he notes the discrepancies between the character of the real Cyrano and that of the man whom Rostand puts before us. It would be absurd to think, however, that Rostand was not aware of these discrepancies. He had taken a course under Dominic on the poets from 1600 to 1660; and his attention must certainly have been caught by P. A. Brun's book, *Savinien de Cyrano Bergerac*, published only four years before the first performance of his play. If his Cyrano is not historical, it is because he preferred to make him legendary. For his purpose, the true figure revealed by the careful research of Brun, was not as important as the popular figure created by other works with which the spectators were more familiar. And that is his very excellent reason for portraying his hero according to what Magne calls "les ridicules fresques de Gau-

¹⁶ "Un clerc pour quinze sous, sans craindre le holà,
Peut aller au parterre attaquer Attila."

¹⁷ Even as late as 1673 this admiration was echoed in Chappuzeau's *Théâtre françois*, e. g. "... le Théâtre n'a guère eu qu'un Montfleury qui s'est rendu illustre en toutes manières"; and "Nous avons vu depuis peu d'années . . . deux illustre Comédiens, Montfleury et Floridor."

¹⁸ . . . "Que Montfleury s'en aille,
Ou bien je l'essorille et le désentripaille" (*Cyrano*, I, 4).
Cf. "Il faut . . . un roi, morbleu! qui soit entripaillé comme il faut"

(*Impromptu*, sc. 1).

¹⁹ See I, 1, the lines beginning: "Les acteurs commençoient" etc.

thier ou de Lacroix.”²⁰ Rostand needed the confidence of his spectators to make them accept many a detail that was historically accurate; by yielding in some measure to their preconceptions, he, like every other skilful dramatist, forced them into that coöperation between the author and the public without which no play is a play.

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²⁰ As a commentary upon the popular vogue of Cyrano in France, it is interesting to remember the lines written by V. Fournel some thirty years earlier: “. . . il y a quelques années un grand bruit se fit tout à coup autour du nom de Cyrano de Bergerac: . . . Charles Nodier, entre autres, publia sur le mousquetaire exhumé de sa tombe une notice ingénueuse et charmante, qui fit l’effet d’une révélation.” (*La Littérature indépendante*, 2e Edition, 1866, p. 53.)

PAUL SCARRON AND ENGLISH TRAVESTY ¹

BY STURGIS E. LEAVITT

Italian burlesque and travesty writers have been dealt with in histories of Italian literature and the Italian burlesque movement as a whole has been covered by Symonds in his volumes on the Italian Renaissance; French travesty and burlesque have been discussed at length by Morillot, Brunetière and others,² and a summary of the vogue of this type of humor in England is to be found in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. Few attempts have been made, however, to discover a possible connection between these movements. A small pamphlet by Toldo³ points out a few passages in Scarron's works similar to some in the Italian burlesque poems, Heiss would have Cotton's *Scarronides* a translation of Scarron's *Virgile travesti*, and Whibley makes Scarron an inspiration and model for English travesty writers of the seventeenth century.⁴

Without doubt the Restoration with its lawlessness and licence made it easy for travesty to gain a foothold in England, and once the pernicious weed got a start it was bound to find ready admirers

¹ The usual term *burlesque* is to be avoided as of too wide a scope, covering as it does parody, caricature, extravaganza, the mock-heroic and travesty. The following discussion deals chiefly with *travesty*, that type of humorous composition which has a model constantly in mind, retains its characters and much of its subject matter, and systematically ridicules both. In retaining both subject matter and the characters of its model, it differs from the mock-heroic and parody; it is more ambitious than caricature, and more restrained than extravaganza.

² Flügel, K. K., "*Geschichte des Burlesken*," Leipzig, 1794. Junker, H. P., "*Paul Scarron's Virgile travesti*," Oppeln, 1883. Morillot, P., "*Paul Scarron, Etude Biographique et Littéraire*," Paris, 1888. Heiss, H., "*Studien über die burleske Modedichtung Frankreichs im XVII Jahrhundert*," *Romanische Forschungen*, XXI. Brunetière, F., "*La Maladie du burlesque*" in "*Etudes critiques sur l'histoire de la littérature française*," Paris, 1917.

³ Toldo, P., "*Ce que Scarron doit aux auteurs burlesques d'Italie*," Pavia, 1893.

⁴ "Scarron was their openly acknowledged master. They did not make any attempt to belittle the debt which they owed to *Le Virgile Travesti*. They announced their obligation not merely in their style, but in their titles." *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. IX, p. 286.

among tavern poets and their numerous friends. Considerable influence may have come from abroad but there is evidence that the seeds were already in English soil before this foreign influence began to make itself felt. In a volume of jocose verse entitled *Wit Restored*, written by Sir John Mennes and James Smith and published in 1658, there occurs a bit of verse surprisingly like the efforts of Scarron. As V. L. Jones has pointed out, this poem, *The Innovation of Penelope to Ulysses*, was probably written in or before 1640.⁵ This fact dates it earlier than Scarron's *Typhon* and absolves that author from any connection with it. Like the *Typhon* Smith's poem is not a travesty for he had no model to ridicule, but a glance at the production will make it clear that it is a forerunner of the actual travesties which later made their appearance in England. Perhaps the first thing to impress us is its total lack of respect for antiquity. The Trojan hero and his spouse are reduced to very ordinary individuals and are treated in a most familiar manner. Penelope, anxious at Ulysses' failure to return from the war, writes him a letter beginning:

My pretty Duck, my Pigsnie, my Ulysses
Thy poor Penelope sends a thousand Kisses

Frequent anachronisms like the following at once remind one of Scarron although they fall far short of him in wit:

She don'd new Cloaths and sent the old ones packing
And had her shoes rubbed over with Lamp blacking.

.
A stomacher upon her breast so bare
For Strips and Gorgets were not then the weare.

⁵ Among the dedicatory epistles commendatory verses purport to come from James Atkins, John Mennes, the author himself, and James Massinger. The latter died about the middle of March, 1640. Cf. V. L. Jones, *English Satire, 1650-1700*, Harvard Thesis, 1911. Page 442, note.

⁶ The *Typhon*, having no original model, is not a travesty. The spirit of it, however, is much like that of the *Virgile travesti*. Written a few years apart (1642 and 1648) the same disrespect for classic antiquity is manifested in each, whether it be for gods and goddesses or for the personages in Virgil's epic. The meter of both poems, the processes of ridicule (anachronism and personal comment), and the general tone are similar. It is evident that both were looked upon in much the same light by Scarron. Though not a real travesty, the *Typhon* so thoroughly prepared the way for it that when the *Virgile travesti* made its appearance six years later, it was assured of immediate success.

The poem is short, is the only one of its kind in the volume, and has little merit. In spite of its being styled an "Innovation" it probably did not attract unusual attention, for we find that the author did not feel called upon to write another. It probably passed in its day as merely a humorous poem, and yet, like the *Typhon* in France, it had its part in initiating English readers into the first principles of travesty.

Apparently Richard Flecknoe was one of the first in England to become acquainted with Scarron, mentioning him as early as 1656, in the preface to his *Diarium or Journal*, in company with such names as Aristophanes, Plautus, Cervantes, Tassoni, and even Mennes and Smith. Although Flecknoe's poem is in no sense a travesty its author contributed his share towards opening the way for it by imitating one passage in the *Virgile travesti*. The sixth *Jornada* of the *Diarium* begins as follows:

And now Aurora blushing red,
Came stealing out of Titan's bed,
Whilst the hours that swiftly run,
Harnass'd the horses of the Sun.
Now Chantecleer with stretcht-out wings,
The glad approach of Phoebus sings.
While Bats and Owls, and birds of night
Were all confounded, put to flight.
All which is only for to say
In Poets language, that 'twas day.

Scarron's version runs in this manner:

La lune et toutes ses suivantes,
Ce sont les étoiles errantes,
Se retiroient sans faire bruit,
Ainsi que les oiseaux de nuit,
Et l'aurore, franche coquette,
Laissant ronfler dans sa couchette
Son cocu caduc et grison,
Se promenoit par l'horizon,
Peignant la surface des choses
D'une belle couleur de roses:
Cela veut dire que le jour
Après la nuit vint à son tour.¹

The year 1664 marks the beginning of real travesty in England. In that year Charles Cotton published his *Scarronides*, or travesty

¹ Fournel, V., "*Le Virgile travesti*," Paris, 1875, p. 266.

of the first book of the *Æneid*. The popularity of this travesty gives Cotton the most conspicuous place in a motley and disreputable crowd of scribblers. A second edition appeared in 1665, a third including a travesty of the fourth *Æneid*, came out in 1667, and five more editions had been published by 1709.⁸ The *Scarronides*, though not a translation of Scarron's *Virgile travesti*, almost certainly owes its inspiration to it. It is on the same subject, employs the same meter, and depends, as does Scarron's poem, upon anachronism for its chief appeal. These anachronisms are quite as frequent as those in the French but they are totally devoid of the element of surprise and the pungency so characteristic of Scarron. They seem more like a continuation of the efforts of Smith in the *Penelope* than any conscious imitation of Scarron.

Quite a number of passages in the *Scarronides* appear at first sight to be similar to the *Virgile*, but most of these similarities are probably due to the fact that they are based on a common model. In instances where Scarron and Cotton depart from the Latin text the evidence points toward a borrowing from the French, as for example, the remarks of Æneas when he stands before the pictures in the Carthaginian temple:

Il n'est pays si reculé
Où notre nom ne soit allé! *

How came these here to be pictured thus,
Sure all the world has heard of us.⁹

In the fourth book, where Dido has made up her mind to die,¹¹ both authors have her review various modes of suicide and reject them all for equally trivial reasons:

Elle chercha dans sa cervelle
Quelque mode de mort nouvelle;
De se transpercer d'un couteau,
Elle craint un peu trop sa peau;
De s'en aller comme une bête
Contre un mur se rompre la tête.

* 1670, 1672, 1678, 1682, 1709.

⁸ *Virgile travesti*, p. 71.

¹⁰ "*Scarronides, or Virgile Travesty.*" London, 1672, p. 38.

¹¹ Et partes animum versabat in omnes,
Invisam quaerens quam primum abrupere lucem.

Æneid, iv, 630, 631.

Ou bien s'étrangler d'un licol
 Au grand dommage de son col,
 Cette mort est pour le vulgaire;
 Des rois ne la pratiquent guère.
 De monter sur quelque lieu haut,
 Et puis de là prendre le saut,
 Elle peut, tombant sur la tête,
 Montrer quelque lieu déshonnête.¹²

In Mind she weigh'd as she sat crying,
 What kind of Death was best to die in.
 Poison she thought would not be quick,
 And, which was worse would make her sick.
 That being therefore waiv'd, she thought
 That neatly cutting her own throat
 Might serve to do her business for her:
 But that she thought upon with Horror,
 Because 'twould hurt her; neither could
 She well endure to see her Blood.
 The next came in her Thoughts was drowning,
 That way she thought 'twould be a done thing

But then again she fell a thinking,
 She should be somewhat long in sinking,
 Having been ever light of members;
 And, to dissuade her more remembers,
 'Twould spoyle the Cloaths might do someone
 Credit when she was dead and gone.¹³

These and other similarities¹⁴ make it fairly certain that Cotton owes Scarron somewhat more than mere inspiration for his travesty. But the fact that he falls so far short of Scarron's aptness for anachronism and overlooks altogether his numerous digressions (one of Scarron's most effective humoristic touches) makes it seem equally certain that he did not duly appreciate the *Virgile travesti*. Cotton's travesty is in every respect inferior to the French work. It is carelessly written, coarse in the extreme, and most uninteresting. Cotton lacked the wit of Scarron and failed to imprint his work with a personal touch. The *Scarronides* seems like a book

¹² *Virgile travesti*, p. 177.

¹³ *Scarronides*, p. 140.

¹⁴ Cf. *Virgile*, p. 66, "J'aurai plaisir. . ." and *Scarronides*, p. 29, "She is a queen"; *Vir.*, p. 84, "Les beaux conviés. . ." and *Sc.*, p. 52, "She served. . ."; *Vir.*, p. 167, "Il gratte. . ." and *Sc.*, p. 97, "In this quandary. . ."; *Vir.*, p. 185, "Frappant sur quiconque. . ." and *Sc.*, p. 146, "Nancy. . ."

ground out to make a little money, and the number of editions published seems to indicate that in this respect it was a success.

Cotton made another attempt at travesty in 1675 with his *Scoffer Scoft, or Lucian Burlesqued*. In this his inventions are no happier, the anachronisms are rarer, and the author gives free rein to the coarseness which probably made the *Scarronides* popular. No trace of any imitation of Scarron is to be found. *The Scoffer Scoft* probably owes its existence to the success of the *Scarronides* and in this way it has some connection with Scarron, although the relationship is far removed.

Scarron's *Typhon* was translated into English in 1665 under the title *The Gyants War with the Gods*, and, just as it opened the way for travesty in France, so it must have added its part to the popularity of travesty in England. The translation is of no great merit; it is written in coarse language, some of the passages in the original are omitted and the best parts are poorly rendered. The *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Cambridge History of English Literature* ascribe the translation to John Phillips,¹⁵ but this can hardly be correct. With all his knowledge of languages and his experience as a translator John Phillips could surely have done better than that.¹⁶

In the same year a J. Scudamore got out a *Homer à la Mode*, a travesty of the first book of the *Iliad*. This author does not mention Scarron and in no place does he imitate him. Scudamore employs the same octosyllabic couplet that Cotton uses and may have learned from him the lesson of anachronism, for we find that the Greeks wore "good Lochram Shirts and well vamped Boots made of good neat's Leather" and that Briseis was brought "from her needles and samples to the two town beedles." This may have called forth a smile when travesty was an innovation, but today it seems decidedly flat. There is no particular merit about Scudamore's poem except that it seems to give promise of better things in travesty, since its language does not offend decency in the way Cotton's productions do.

This promise was not destined to be immediately fulfilled for the author of *Cataplus, or Æneas his descent into Hell*, calling on

¹⁵ See *D. N. B.*, article *Phillips* and *O. H. E. L.*, Vol. ix, p. 300.

¹⁶ The *Gyants War* and the *Maronides* (see below) are so different in accuracy, vocabulary, and style that the two can hardly be the work of the same man.

. . . ye devils great and small,
Lucifer, Beelzebub, Belial,

finds that decency has no place in travesty. His source of inspiration is probably indicated by his request to these devils to give him

. . . . a vein that may surpass
Homer a la mode or Hudibras.

From Scudamore he very likely acquired the trick of anachronism and to our no great surprise Æneas meets Bevis, Amadis de Gaul, Robin Hood, and Little John in Hell and finds them wearing "Holland Drawers and Lac'd Cravats." *Hudibras* undoubtedly contributed the humoristic touch of citing vague authority for unimportant detail which we find occasionally, as for example in the description of Dædalus.

Wings with him always he did carry
From Woodcock or from water-duck,
From phasant, partridge, teal and widgeon;
Some say this and some say that,
Authors write I know not what.¹⁷

Compare Butler in the same manner,

But here our authors make a doubt,
Whether he (Hudibras) was more wise or stout.
*Some hold the one, and some the other,*¹⁸

But if we stop to make further inquiry as to where Butler picked up this trick of style, the deadly parallel passage points to Scarron. Examples like the following are frequent enough in the *Virgile travesti*:

Pour Ascagne, elle (Venus) l'endormit
D'un certain charme qu'elle fit,
Les uns disent d'un dormitoire
Les autres en le faisant boire
Un peu qu'il ne faut de vin.¹⁹

This connection with Scarron via Butler²⁰ is the only one to be

¹⁷ *Cataplus, or Aeneas his descent into Hell, a mock poem, in imitation of the sixth of Virgil's Aeneis*. London, 1672. p. 6.

¹⁸ *Hudibras*, Part I, Canto I, 29, 30.

¹⁹ *Virgile*, p. 82.

²⁰ For a more complete discussion of Butler's indebtedness to Scarron see the author's thesis (Harvard), *Scarron in England, 1656-1800*.

found and there is nothing in the travesty to indicate that its author had any first hand knowledge of him or his works.

In 1672 John Phillips translated the fifth, and in 1673 the sixth book of Scarron's *Virgile travesti*, reprinting them in one volume in 1678. *The Maronides, or Virgil Travesty*, as Phillips called it, is a very good translation of the French, but to this day it has passed as an original work.²¹ Phillips deviates from the text at times and tries to adapt the translation to English readers by such anachronisms as references to Bartholomew Fair, Billingsgate, Park of Whetstone, and by putting Ben Jonson, Chaucer, Carew, Shakespere, and Cowley in Elysium, but for the most part he is content to follow Scarron line for line and sometimes word for word. In only one instance does he acknowledge his indebtedness to Scarron, and then indirectly:—in book five, after the passage where the serpent has unexpectedly eaten Æneas' sacrifice, Phillips says,

Away he slip't but heaven knowes how
The Frenchman saies 'twas through a Trou.²²

Ovid came in for his share of ridicule in the *Ovidius Exulans*, 1673. Its author was not sufficiently proud of his work to sign his name to it, but the pseudonym "Naso Scarronomimus" is enlightening. Scarron is mentioned again in the preface: "I was going to give you a character of myself as Scarron has done, but knowing how far I come short of his wit, . . . I shall upon better consideration leave my picture to be drawn by somebody else." The author of this travesty rises above the coarseness of most of his contemporaries, but beyond this there is nothing to recommend the work. The usual anachronisms are dragged in by the heels, Leander swims the Thames instead of the Hellespont, and references are made to London Bridge, Gravesend, etc., but they do not relieve the monotony of the poems. Even if we admit that Scarron inspired this set of travesties his influence can be traced no further, for not a single passage shows any similarity to anything he has written.

²¹ See *D. N. B.* article *Phillips* and *C. H. E. L.*, Vol. ix, p. 288.

²²

Serpentant sur son jaune ventre,
Le bon drôle de serpent rentre;
Virgil ne dit pas par où,
Je crois que ce fut par un trou:

Virgile, p. 196.

In the case of *The Wits Paraphrased*, 1680, we find an exceedingly coarse travesty of an English translation of Ovid.²³ The author seems to have been unacquainted with Scarron; at least he does not mention him and in no place does he imitate him. His procedure is to follow the English verse as closely as he can and twist the meaning into vulgarity. There is no sign of the slightest originality.

The above poems are severely criticised by Alexander Radecliffe in the preface to his *Ovid Travesty* of the same year. He speaks of his rival's lack of skill, censures him for his poor similes, and says, "God save us, what are we when we are left to ourselves." Radecliffe boasts that he will not follow a translation as his predecessor has done, but will go directly back to Ovid. This he does, writing in ten-syllable rhymed couplets instead of the usual eight-syllable burlesque verse. No mention of Scarron is made and no line in the travesty gives any indication that Radecliffe knew him. The *Ovid Travesty* far surpasses its predecessor in one respect, vulgarity, and this may account for its success—four more editions within twenty-five years.²⁴

The next year an anonymous *Homer Alamode* put in its appearance. Its author shows himself familiar with the leading jocosé poems of the time, for in an introductory letter to his friend "Anthony Le-Nobody" he mentions several:

Scarron's a fool, and Hudibras
He is, what is he? Why an Ass
And so's Leander's bawdy Poem²⁵
And Maronides, if you know 'um.

Scarron's name evidently had some talismanic virtue to the author, for the travesty is dated "Scarron-ottonia, Anno Risus Inventi 5677." The general tone of the poem, vulgar and commonplace though it is, reminds one vaguely of his style. This writer seems to have picked up one of Scarron's peculiarities which had pre-

²³ *Ovids Epistles, Translated by Several Hands*, London, 1680. Among the "hands" are Mr. Dryden, Tho. Flatman, Mr. Settle, and Mr. Otway.

²⁴ 1681, 1696, 1697, and 1705.

²⁵ *Hero and Leander in Burlesque*, by William Wycherley. London, 1669. The word bawdy is appropriate, the poem simply grovels in filth. There is no indication that Wycherley had any knowledge of Scarron's burlesque poem on the same subject, *Hero and Léandre*, 1656.

viously been overlooked, that of calling the reader's attention to trivial points which the classic writer had failed to explain. An occasional attempt at this sort of literary criticism is made but with little success as compared with similar passages in the *Virgile travesti*.

An anonymous *Scarronides*, based on the second book of the *Æneid*, appeared in 1692. This is perhaps the weakest effort of all, a sad attempt at humor by someone who had no sense of it. In spite of its title this travesty has no connection with Scarron and is so far inferior to Cotton's work that it can hardly be his.²⁶ No doubt its author wanted to make a little easy money on another's reputation.

With this last *Scarronides* the vogue of English travesty was on the wane, although Radecliffe's *Ovid Travesty* appeared in three more editions (1696, 1697, and 1705) and Cotton's *Scarronides* received its eight impression in 1709. Occasional approaches to travesty appear from time to time, but they are attempts at modernizing rather than a deliberate effort to humble the ancients. The close of the seventeenth century, however, did not see the end of travesty, for several important examples occur in the eighteenth. Gay's *Ovid in Masquerade*,²⁷ 1719, continues the Cotton tradition with numerous passages reminiscent of the *Scarronides*, and in 1758 another disciple of Cotton published a travesty of Maphæus,²⁸ borrowing many of Cotton's phrases and so closely imitating him that it might well pass for Cotton's work. A statement in the preface to the effect that "some may deem it a Degree of Presumption in me to undertake an English burlesque of a Latin poet, after that of Cotton's which was so well received, so much admired," would seem to indicate that Cotton's travesties were still rather widely read. This is also attested by the appearance of the *Scar-*

²⁶ Cotton died in 1687.

²⁷ *Ovid in Masquerade. Being a burlesque upon the XIIIth book of his Metamorphoses containing the Celebrated Speeches of Ajax and Achilles.* By Joseph Gay. London, 1719. Gay must have felt that the time for travesty was passing for he half-heartedly apologizes for trying it.

²⁸ *The Canto added by Maphæus to Virgil's Twelve books of Aeneas, from the original bombastic done into English Hudibrastic; with notes beneath, and Latin text in ev'ry other page annexed.* London, 1758. The Maphæus in spite of being "done into English Hudibrastic" makes no reference to the incidents in *Hudibras* and borrows none of its phrasing.

ronides in numerous editions of Cotton's works during the eighteenth century.²⁹ Pope's translation of Homer called forth a travesty by Thomas Bridges in 1762.³⁰ In this only a few phrases can possibly be connected with Cotton and the resemblance is so slight as to almost argue against any connection with him. On the other hand, Bridges seems to have been well acquainted with Butler's *Hudibras*, for he refers to it frequently and borrows not a little of its phraseology. This, however, does not keep the poem from being inconceivably dull, and we find it hard to understand how it could have received five impressions in the course of the century.³¹

The above mentioned travesties are unfortunately not a complete list,³² but they are sufficient to show that Scarron did not play so prominent a part in this movement as Whibley would have us suppose. Smith, as we have seen, prepared the way with his *Innovation of Penelope*, and Cotton's imitation of the *Virgile travesti* definitely established the fashion and gave it sufficient impetus to run through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among the crowd of doggerel writers following in Cotton's wake, some were unacquainted with Scarron, some found him a name to conjure with and an inspiration to follow, and but few knew his

²⁹ The *Scarronides* appeared in editions of Cotton's works in 1715, 1725, 1765, 1776.

³⁰

Pope, we all know to please the nation,
Published an elegant translation,
But for all that, his lines mayn't please
The jocund tribe as much as these;

(Preface to *A Burlesque Translation of Homer*, by Thomas Bridges.)

³¹ 1762, 1764, 1767, 1770, and 1797.

³² The following travesties are not accessible to me,—

1665.—Monsey, R. *Scarronides: or Virgile Travestie, A Mock-Poem. Being the Second Book of Virgil's Aeneas, Translated into English Burlesque.*

1683.—*Lucian's Ghost* (?).

1684.—*Lucian's Dialogues from the Greek done into English burlesque.*

1704.—B. M. *Typhon: or the War of the Gods and the Giants. A Burlesque Poem in imitation of Mons. Scarron.*

1720.—Meston, *Phaeton or the first Fable of the Second Book of Ovid's Metamorphoses burlesqu'd.*

1774.—*The Story of Aeneas and Dido, from the fourth book of the Aeneid burlesqued.*

work well enough to borrow from it. Among those who did it is interesting to note the case of Phillips, whose almost literal translation could not compete with the distinctly inferior *Scarronides*.

Protest against the rank growth of travesty came late in the seventeenth century after the mania had reached its height and was on its decline. Soame, in his adaptation of Boileau's *Art Poétique*, 1683, does not mention any of these travesties in his denunciation of the "Dull Burlesque" which

. . . appeared with Impudence
And pleased by Novelty in Spite of Sense.

In 1712, on the other hand, Ozell's adaptation of the same work finds that such "low stuff" as Cotton's "Mock Virgil," in spite of being "for a while renowned," is none the less deserving of censure. This criticism, however, is somewhat perfunctory and would hardly be worth mentioning were it the only expression of disapproval among English men of letters. The only one who does come strongly out against travesty is Sir William Temple. In his *Essay upon ancient and modern learning*, 1690, he attacks the *genre* and those who were to him its individual representatives in France and England:

Another Vein which has entered and helpt to Corrupt our modern Poesy is that of ridicule, . . . It began first in Verse with an Italian Poem, called *La Secchia Rapita*, was pursued by Scarron in French with his *Virgil Travesty*, and in English by Sir John Mince (*Mennes?*), *Hudibras*, and Cotton, and with greater height of Burlesque in the English than, I think, in any other language. But let the Execution be what it will, the Design, the Custom and Example are very pernicious to Poetry, and indeed to all Virtue and good Qualities among Men, which must be disheartened by finding how unjustly and undistinguish't they fall under the lash of Raillery, and this Vein of Ridiculing the Good as well as the Ill, the Guilty and Innocent together. 'Tis a very poor tho' common Pretence to merit, to make it appear by the Faults of other Men. A mean Wit or Beauty may pass in a Room, where the rest of the Company are allowed to have none; 'tis something to sparkle among Diamonds, but to shine among Pebbles is neither Credit nor Value worth the pretending."

If we find few protests in England against travesty we may well conjecture that its low character kept it from readers possessing a

²² *Essay upon ancient and modern learning*. Spingarn edition, Oxford, 1909. p. 71-2.

true sense of literature. This was not the case with Scarron's *Virgile travesti*, which was read and enjoyed by some of the most cultured people of France. The English versions probably made their chief appeal to tavern poets and their friends, held under by Puritan rule and given full license by the Restoration. These admirers of low literature must have been fairly numerous, however, to have given it the popularity it enjoyed. Undoubtedly this success would have been even greater but for two distracting influences; the rise and development of the mock-heroic in the latter part of the seventeenth century and the popularity of Butler's *Hudibras*, which ran through numerous editions from 1663 on and called forth imitation after imitation from the same class of would-be poets that trailed along after Cotton.

The University of North Carolina.

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EDITORIAL

With the issue for January, 1919, *STUDIES*
A Record and IN PHILOLOGY entered upon its fifth year as a
A Promise quarterly publication. In the last four years it
has printed approximately twelve hundred pages on a wide
variety of subjects. Its columns are open to scholars every-
where. It is proposed to increase the size and scope of the
journal in order to carry out more fully certain plans that have
governed its editorial policy from the beginning. This policy
may be briefly defined in a phrase applied to the journal by a
reviewer of one of its special issues: "scholarship with vision."
It regards literature as well as linguistics as a part of its field;
it seeks the coöperation of classical and modern students alike
in an attempt to further a new humanism; as a part of this
humanism it includes history, the record of the deeds of men
as literature is a record of their thoughts and dreams.

* * *

The time has come for a re-defining of the purposes
Learning of learning and of the relation of learning to life.
And Life The great merit of Francis Bacon's work, conceived
and brought forth in an era much like our own, was that he
clearly recognized that learning must serve mankind. He saw
the difference between the medievalism of the universities, out
of touch with the new age, and the enlarged vision, the more
abundant life which it is the province of learning to confer upon
a generation. The greatest of errors, he contends, is "the mis-
taking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge."

For men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of mankind: as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a tarrasse, for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground, for strife and contention; or a shop, for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate.

"The relief of man's estate," in Bacon's thought, was to come through the right application to life of the doctrine and discipline of science, history, and language. With the last of these directly, with the other two indirectly, *STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY* has to do.

* * *

Setting the Province In Order Learning is now far more complex than in Bacon's time. The army of pioneers that he called for has grown as by magic. Those fields of learning that he pointed out as deficient, and many other fields undreamed of by him, have been explored until the very mass of the accumulation threatens confusion to thought. Having been conquered, they must be set in order. Interpretation in the light of the discoveries of the last century is a necessary obligation of scholarship. But this interpretation is no matter of facile impressionism. It will come only from those who have the patience and the training that will make possible the mastery of the monographs, the minute investigations, the annotations that have accumulated since modern philological scholarship came into being. No man who is hostile to specialized research can make that use of these accumulations that is necessary in order to enable us to take stock of our gettings and to organize the province of learning so that it may best contribute to our common life. It is, of course, incumbent on

the present generation to carry on the work of investigation itself, and this it should do with all the ardor and fine humility of the past; but it should do so also with a clearer sense of values, the lack of which has too often laid the scholar open to the charge of being a mere grubber for facts, a mad source-hunter and date-fixer, whose own small "contribution to learning" shuts out the universe. There is no need that this should be the case, and with the really great scholars of our age—with Francis James Child, for example, and Horace Howard Furness, not to mention the names of men still living—it was not. For them the severity of minute research, the ideal of a complete and accurate information, won from stubborn materials with unending toil, far from limiting their insight, was an indispensable condition of its breadth and truth. We need to realize anew that the work in which we are engaged is one which requires vision as well as scholarship, and thought as well as tabulation. "What one takes too often for the ivory tower," wrote a French soldier to his mother, "is simply the cheese of the rat become hermit."

* * *

The publication of this fourth series of *Elizabethan Studies* is the excuse for referring *The Elizabethan Society* once more to the suggestion made two years ago for the formation of an Elizabethan Society. The first suggestion appeared in these columns just as America was entering the war. The birth-month of Shakespeare this time comes to us when our problems have changed in character but not in difficulty. The history of the past two years and the gravity of the present situation alike emphasize the need for bringing about a closer union between the English-speaking peoples. The half century within which John Richard Green prophesied the union of these peoples is not yet expired, but his words are profoundly significant today:

In spirit the English People is one. The distance that parted England from America lessens every day. The ties that unite them grow every day stronger. The social and

political differences that threatened a hundred years ago to form an impassable barrier between them grow every day less. Against this silent and inevitable drift of things the spirit of narrow isolation on either side the Atlantic struggles in vain. It is possible that the two branches of the English people will remain forever separate political existences. It is likely enough that the older of them may again break in twain, and that the English People in the Pacific may assert as distinct a national life as the two English Peoples on either side the Atlantic. But the spirit, the influence, of all these branches will remain one. And in thus remaining one, before half a century is over it will change the face of the world. . . . What the issues of such a world-wide change may be, not even the wildest dreamer would dare to dream. But one issue is inevitable. In the centuries that lie before us, the primacy of the world will lie with the English People. English institutions, English speech, English thought, will become the main features of the political, the social, and the intellectual life of mankind.

In bringing this dream to reality scholars must coöperate with statesmen. Indeed, one may almost say that the scholar must precede the statesman. For it is the scholar who can best show how deeply interwoven are the threads of our common destiny. The founding of liberty in America was one fruit of the English Renaissance. And it is this "liberty connected with order," to use Burke's fine phrase, the chief contribution of the Anglo-Saxon race to the welfare of humanity, which is to prove the antagonist of that madness of disordered liberty that now threatens the world. Therefore, to the reasons set forth in 1917 in behalf of the organization of British and American students of Elizabethan literature and history is added the fact that such an organization may prove of great value in cementing the alliance of which Green and Tennyson and many others have dreamed.

* * *

It is fitting that this issue of *STUDIES IN*
Edward Kidder *PHILOLOGY* should be dedicated to the memory
Graham of Edward Kidder Graham, at one time professor of English at the University of North Carolina and later

its president. In his passing, last October, the cause of liberal scholarship lost a powerful and intelligent interpreter. His was one of those "spirits that catch the flame from Heaven," of which Wordsworth spoke. To scholarship in the strict sense he contributed little directly, yet all his activity was instinct with the spirit of scholarship. He was a great teacher, who found in literature such an instrument as literally to transform the minds and hearts of the college men who came under his instruction. Culture, to him, was "achievement touched by fine feeling," and this conception not only informed his own life but also gave motive to his work as a teacher, to his interpretation of the life of his state, and to his conception of the place of a university in modern life. "If constructive idealism is to be the saving standard of our state life," he wrote, "we shall establish it by effort, deliberate, courageous, and devoted. The destiny of a people in ideals is no more a matter of chance than business is a matter of chance." No recent writer has so happily characterized the new spirit of the South as Doctor Graham in the following words:

But more than any other evidence of a growth of a noble civic faith in North Carolina is that supreme evidence in the life of the people more deeply felt than seen. It is the aspiration, even the yearning of the people of this state for higher things,—a passionate docility, combined with the strength of native independence—a yearning for great leadership founded on great principles. . . . It is the finer breath of an heroic effort to reconstruct a commonwealth that was wrecked. It is passion for building, building with the divine innate joy of a child, with the unalloyed enthusiasm of a man.

To get beyond one's immediate circle of duties and interests, to enter into some sort of relationship with the world outside,—even the remotest parts of the earth, and then to bring to bear on the tasks of the day this sharpened vision, is one secret of power. For it gives breadth, drives out the provincial, corrects values, enables one to see the day in its relation to all the days of the children of men. Such was Graham's secret. It explains why he could speak so simply and yet so wisely, and to all men.

MILTON AND THE RETURN TO HUMANISM

BY JAMES HOLLY HANFORD

It is now some two centuries and a half since John Milton gave forth his greatest poem to an alien world, consoling himself in the isolation of his evil days with the thought that, whatever its immediate reception might prove to be, *Paradise Lost* was a work of lofty thinking and uncompromising art which would always find "fit audience though few" and which "after times" would not willingly let die. Time has amply justified his faith. Through all revolutions of taste and thought, despite much "barbarous noise" of controversy and "detraction rude," the chorus of praise has risen in ever increasing volume. It would seem paradoxical to say that Milton has received less than his due measure of that lasting fame which was for him, though in his sterner thought he held it vanity, an object of intense desire. Yet, looking back upon the history of Milton's triumph over the judgment of mankind, one is tempted to affirm that he has fared but ill even at the hands of his most devoted friends. The mass of critical appreciation seems in large measure to have missed its mark, to have been, on the whole, perversely directed to aspects of his work which he himself would have deemed of secondary importance. It is not strange that it has been so. For the appeal of Milton, as of all the great forces in the literature of the past, has been conditioned by the moral and intellectual outlook of successive generations of readers, and in so far as the atmosphere of the later age has differed, vitally, from that in which Milton lived, criticism has inevitably suffered limitations. It has suffered, also, from the character of polemic which so much of it has assumed. The ardent defense of Milton against one charge after another levelled against him by enemies of his art or thought has led of necessity to partial views. And as the dust of controversy has subsided the discussions which have grown out of it have come to seem unsatisfactory and incomplete. For the present generation even the "standard" interpretations and estimates of the Victorian era savor too much of the special bias of the time. Meanwhile the signs multiply of an important departure in Milton investigation and criticism.

The number of studies which have dealt anew with the themes of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, have re-examined Milton's relations with Spenser and the Elizabethans, have overhauled his doctrines in both his poetry and his prose, have subjected to analysis his political as well as his moral and religious philosophy, are evidence that the effects of an altered viewpoint, which is itself the fruit of a new age of experience, are beginning to be felt.¹ These studies are in the main scholarly rather than controversial in character. They aim at interpretation rather than defense. Out of them we are about to write a new chapter in Milton criticism which, without altogether invalidating the old, will testify to the enduring vitality of the supreme works of human genius not for their art alone, and will reaffirm the principle that poetry is a higher and more philosophical thing than prose. It is perhaps an appropriate moment to pass in brief review the Miltonism of the past in its chief phases, with the aim of defining more clearly the special character of the new approach. Materials for such a review are already at hand in recent monographs and articles devoted to the history of Milton's reputation.² Discussion naturally centers in *Paradise Lost*, for in that poem, by common consent, the influences which shaped Milton's art and thought met in the most perfect balance, and it is by *Paradise Lost* that his position in English literature is determined.

By a strange fatality the audience for which *Paradise Lost* was ideally intended had at the moment of its publication already ceased to exist. Conceived and partly executed in a time when the forces of the Renaissance had not altogether lost their potency and when a synthesis of the two great movements of the age was still possible,

¹ A few of the more significant contributions are: E. N. S. Thompson, *Essays on Milton*; Alden Sampson, *Studies in Milton*; A. H. Gilbert, "The Temptation Motive in *Paradise Regained*" (*Journal of English and German Philology*, 1916); Edwin Greenlaw, "A Better Teacher than Aquinas" (*Studies in Philology*, 1917); H. W. Peck, "The Theme of *Paradise Lost*" (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1914); John Erskine, "The Theme of Death in *Paradise Lost*" (*Ibid.*, 1917); and "Was Paradise Well Lost?" (*Ibid.*, 1918); and R. L. Ramsey, "Morality Themes in Milton's Poetry" (*Studies in Philology*, 1918).

² R. D. Havens, "Seventeenth Century Notices of Milton," and "Early Reputation of *Paradise Lost*" (*Englische Studien*, 1909, 40: 175 ff.); John W. Good, *Studies in the Milton Tradition* (University of Illinois *Studies in Language and Literature*, 1915).

the poem was not actually given to the world until years of conflict had made an irremediable breach in the soul of man. Puritanism, indeed, outlived the Restoration, but it was a Puritanism narrowed and hardened into opposition to poetry, a Puritanism committed solely to conduct and no longer capable of being blended with art and thought. Its literary forms are the sermon and the tract and the didactic allegory. Such a Puritanism had existed in the earlier period, but until the civil wars it had existed simply as a check upon and a protest against the more extreme secular tendencies of the Renaissance. Milton's true kinship is not with Bunyan or Baxter, nor yet altogether with Cromwell and the heroes of the battle for religious and political liberty, but with those men of the older day, whose spiritual aspirations were united with the human passion for truth and beauty and who trusted the imagination as an important medium for the attainment of their ideals. Of the Elizabethans Spenser might have read *Paradise Lost* with a comprehending soul. So too in their degree might Taylor, the Fletchers, Herbert, Donne. Even in Milton's own day there were perhaps a few whose outlook was sufficiently akin to his—men like Marvel or the gentle and humane Colonel Hutchinson, or the musician Lawes, or Lawrence "of virtuous father virtuous son." But Puritans like this were rare and becoming rarer. In the Restoration period Milton stood alone, as unintelligible in his point of view to the author of *Pilgrim's Progress* as he was to Dryden and the literary wits of the court of Charles II. The point is often overlooked by those who, focusing their view on his Puritanism, conceive of him as a poet for the Puritans. Orthodox theology in the eighteenth century did indeed derive some support from *Paradise Lost*, but no one surely will claim that Milton came to his own as a champion of the dying cause of Calvinism.

In the end it was, paradoxically enough, the wits and not the Puritans who first seriously undertook the criticism of *Paradise Lost*, and in their appreciations and discussions we may discover the initial phase of the perverted emphasis which has dominated Miltonic interpretation to our own day. Their efforts were directed primarily to an examination of Milton's poetic art in the light of the principles of poetry set forth by Aristotle and reinterpreted by the theorists of the neo-classic school. The process had already begun during the Restoration period when Dryden, taking a narrow

view, finds in the "unprosperous event," the disproportion between the divine and human personages, and other technical shortcomings, a violation of epic principles. But the condemnation of Milton on these grounds could not satisfy the better sense of the critics themselves. Possessed of a more genuine responsiveness to sincere and lofty poetry than we sometimes give them credit for, they recognized the genius of Milton as they did of Shakespeare and desired to justify him on some valid and accepted critical basis. It was in this spirit that Addison in the next generation wrote the famous critique in the *Spectator*, vindicating Milton's epic art by a sympathetic analysis of *Paradise Lost* according to the method of Aristotle, with comparison of Homer and Virgil. Other critics fell back on the standard conclusion that Milton, like Shakespeare, was a great irregular genius, rising superior to rule. Dennis founded the poet's claims on the higher inspiration due to his Christian theme, and finally Warburton defined *Paradise Lost* as a new species of epic poem, deserving a place independent of but equal to the epic forms invented by Homer and Virgil.³

It is unnecessary in this place to pronounce on the respective merits of these viewpoints. We have only to note that the discussion centered in questions of literary art. With the great controversy over Milton's blank verse which raged throughout the period it is the same. For the eighteenth century critic the major point at issue regarding Milton was the basis of æsthetic theory on which his fame must rest.

Now we must recognize that the attitude assumed in these discussions was perfectly valid as far as it went, and later critics along this line have had little to do but to choose and amplify one or the other methods of approach as their critical creed or temperament

* "Milton produced a third species of poetry; for just as Virgil rivalled Homer, so Milton emulated both. He found Homer possessed of the province of Morality, Virgil of Politics, and nothing was left for him but that of Religion. This he seized as aspiring to share with them in the Government of the Poetic world; and by means of the superior dignity of his subject, got to the head of that Triumvirate which took so many ages in forming. These are the species of the Epic poem; for its largest province is human action, which can be considered but in a moral, a political or a religious view; and these the three great creators of them; for each of these poems was struck out at a heat, and came to perfection from its first Essay. Here then the grand scene is closed, and all further improvement of the Epic is at an end." Quoted by Good, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

inclines them to the classical or romantic estimate of æsthetic values. Milton himself invited consideration of his works from this angle, in his frequent claims of artistic relationship with the ancients, in his defense of blank verse against the "modern bondage of rhyme," and in his obvious consciousness of the formulated theories of epic and dramatic poetry which the Renaissance inherited from antiquity. Progress, therefore, was real enough in the critical treatment of *Paradise Lost* in the eighteenth century, but if it constituted in the end a pretty complete vindication of Milton's art, it contributed little to a fuller comprehension of his substance, led to no real interpretation of his greatest work, and furnishes no evidence as to whether this work was actually read in the spirit and from the point of view from which it was written.

Meanwhile, however, other notes were struck in eighteenth century Milton appreciation which concern themselves rather with substance and spirit than with form. A consideration of these developments will bring us forcibly to the conclusion that the dominant spiritual outlook of the period resulted in the playing up in Milton's work of values which were not the essential values and rendered the age incapable of seeing *Paradise Lost* in its true light.

In so far as the currents of eighteenth century thought set toward rationalism Milton, with his faith in the supernatural governance of the world and his recognition of the authority of the divine imperative within the soul, could waken little real sympathy. To the philosophers of the scientific dispensation the moral and theological system which had held sway in Milton's mind and with which he would have believed the poem bound to stand or fall, was dead. No longer valuing him for his ideas they were obliged, if they regarded him at all, to fall back upon his art. But the immense popularity of Milton in the eighteenth century and the high esteem in which *Paradise Lost* was held, were not primarily based on an æsthetic appreciation. Writers like Addison did not create the fame of Milton; they found him already in the field, holding his place against all comers. Their service was, by exploring the grounds of admiration, at once to increase its volume and to determine its direction. The *Spectator* papers, with their popular adaptation of the critical technique of the day, tended to justify the public in their instinctive choice. But already in Addison's critique much space is devoted to other aspects of the

poet's work. In his running commentary on the separate books, as well as incidentally in the course of the formal analysis to which the earlier papers in the series are devoted, Addison emphasizes deeper values in the poem, the recognition of which came ultimately to make Milton seem like the prophet of a new era.

The turn of the century had seen an important change in the position of Milton in relation to the dominant thought and feeling of the age. During the Restoration the reaction against Puritan "enthusiasm," the cynical scorn of virtue, the repression of emotion in all its forms had resulted in a general lack of sympathy with the substance of Milton's poetry, while the unpopularity of the poet's politics served also to throw his merits into collapse. The political revolution of 1688 and the revolution in moral sentiment which attended it called his work again into esteem. Religion and virtue being no longer unfashionable, a religious poem commending virtue might be read with approval by a gentleman. The poetical tributes, with their emphasis on the poet's pure morality and on the divinely inspired character of his imagination fall in with the traditional admiration of the "sublimity" of his subject and the majesty of his style. There is, too, an increasing tendency to stress the emotional and human elements in *Paradise Lost*, in so far as these fall within the perceptions of its readers of those days. In a social age, as Good points out, the social features of the epic came in for particular attention, the more so because Milton had portrayed society in its elements and in an idealized form. It would appear from Steele that *Paradise Lost* in this aspect had already been introduced on terms of familiarity into the drawing-room life of the time. He represents a party of women remarking that Milton had said "some of the tenderest things ever heard" in the love speeches of Adam and Eve, and on another occasion he speaks of a fan on which was painted "our first parents asleep in each others arms." Steele himself never tires of quoting passages and commending "beauties" of *Paradise Lost*, selecting almost invariably scenes and speeches from the domestic life of the first lovers. And Addison, with a somewhat wider range, does the same. Much is said in the Critique of the "justice" and "beauty" of Milton's "sentiments." He is claimed to have "filled a great part of his Poem with that kind of writing which the French critics call the Tender and which is in a particular manner engaging to

all sorts of readers." In his discussion of the character and relations of Adam and Eve Addison writes almost entirely from this standpoint. The representation is said to be "wonderfully contrived to influence the Reader with Pity and Compassion." The characters are drawn "with such sentiments as do not only interest the Reader in their afflictions, but raise in him the most melting passions of Humanity and Commiseration." Detailed illustrations follow, particular emphasis being placed on the reconciliation of the sinning pair.

These passages should be read in the light of those other *Spectator* essays which comment on the domestic virtues, sentimentalize over conjugal affection, and look with indulgent commiseration on the weaknesses of man and woman which so often make their common pathway through the world a vale of tears.

We recognize at once that the emotional expansion of the era had opened new gateways of Miltonic appreciation, and we do not wonder at the degree to which he became an ally of the forward movements of the age. If, however, we consider for a moment the philosophical postulates which were behind the sentimental attitude we shall see why it was impossible for anyone deeply touched by the new creed to grasp the central reality of Milton's view of life. The cardinal fact is that the doctrine of original sin, with all its implications, had given way to the theory of the natural goodness of the human heart. The evil of the world is evil of circumstances only, and as such it is apparent rather than real, an inevitable part of the perfect system of the universe formed by divine intelligence. The logical consequence of such a view is the weakening of conviction regarding human responsibility, and with it the disappearance of all ideas of the tragedy of character. We see the operation of this principle in the eighteenth century drama of pity, in which the greatest crimes are condoned and attention distracted from the momentous consequences of moral choice to the misfortunes of those persons who because of wrong education or the overwhelming pressure of temptation pursue the wretched path which leadeth to the gallows. The effect of this attitude is apparent everywhere in eighteenth century comment on *Paradise Lost*. We feel it, for example, in Addison when he speaks of "the miserable aspects of eternal infelicity," and it gives ludicrous results in Bentley's cheerful alteration of the last two lines of Milton's epic from

They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.

to

Then hand in hand with social steps their way
Through Eden took, with Heavenly comfort cheered.

We may note also a final fruit of the softening of Milton's grim realities in Burns's humorous commiseration of Satan in the *Address to the Devil*:

But, fare you weel, Auld Nickie-ben!
O, wad ye take a thought an' men!
Ye aiblins might—I dinna ken—
Still hae a stake:
I'm wae to think upo' yon den,
Ev'n for your sake!

Obviously it would be impossible for the eighteenth century man of feeling to enter into the heroic consciousness of John Milton; for him the Puritan poet's central theme of the operation of divine justice through which Paradise was lost to man as the consequence of his own sin and restored to him again by the exercise of the righteous will, could mean nothing. We find in the characteristic eighteenth century rhapsodies on Milton a steadfast avoidance of this issue. A perusal of the long list of poetic tributes quoted by Good will show that Milton lovers throughout the period praise everything about the poet but the strength and fidelity of his handling of the fundamental problem which he set out to treat.

An intensification and a deepening of eighteenth century feeling for Milton was brought about by the rise of emotional religion. Men like Wesley found an important source of inspiration in *Paradise Lost*, while to Cowper Milton, congenial both in his art and in his religious thought, became an ever present companion in the daily meditations of the heart. The religious use of Milton, which caused *Paradise Lost* as a devotional work to retain even to the present day a place coördinate with *Pilgrim's Progress* and second only to the Bible, hardly produces a critical interpretation, but it does involve a shift of attention to the spiritual and meditative aspects of the poem. Thus the loves of Adam and Eve received less attention than their pure devotions in Eden and their ultimate reconciliation to the will of God. A closer sympathy with Milton's deeper interests results, but it must be admitted that in so far as the new religion partakes of the unchecked emotionalism of the

sentimental movement it is foreign to Milton's balanced and temperate philosophy of life. The stern yet hopeful outlook of the poet's creed had given way to a morbid melancholy. The idea of man's struggle toward moral freedom, the sober consciousness of difficulties and dangers which might yet be overcome by the exercise of the firm and enlightened will was lost in the subjectivism of the Methodist revival, with its insistence on sudden conversion (an idea quite alien to Milton's thought) and its tendency to emphasize salvation by grace rather than by character.

The true measure of the eighteenth century reading of *Paradise Lost* is clearly given by a consideration of the various forms of the Miltonic influence in the literature of the period. Natural admiration for the poet's genius, the spell exercised by his exalted utterance, the fact that with all his irregularities he yet afforded the one great English model of epic poetry on classical lines, combined to make him a major force in eighteenth century poetry. In one aspect the Miltonism of the age is to be interpreted as a phase of classicism. The doctrine of imitation was extended to include the use of older English authors and Milton became a favorite model of style and form. As a pattern of the epic *Paradise Lost* completely dominated the eighteenth century. Thus the *Rape of the Lock*, despite its professed adherence to ancient models, owes perhaps more to Milton than it does to Homer or Virgil. With the serious epics of Blackmore it is the same. In style Milton is the father of eighteenth century blank verse, and here the influence joins with the currents which set toward the romantic movement. The deeper effects of the study of Milton are to be seen in Thomson and Cowper, who found in him the serious feeling, the reverent attitude, the sincerity and warmth of poetic utterance which they missed in the writings of the school of Pope. It is impossible to discuss this subject at any length. The point is that the influence of Milton was felt first of all in matters of style and form by poets who were utterly removed from him in spirit; and that even where it counted for the deepening of poetic sensibility it produced no re-embodiment of his philosophy of life, no attempt to carry further his imaginative presentation of the problem of evil, no echo, in short, of the humanistic attitude which he inherited from the Renaissance both on its intellectual and moral side. Alienated in interest and aim from the whole period the poet finds neither in its

intellectual elite nor in its deeper emotional and religious natures more than a partial comprehension.

From the eighteenth century view of Milton to the nineteenth the transition is direct but strongly marked. The close of the century saw, on the one hand, an increased emphasis on the spiritual values in *Paradise Lost*, and, on the other, a tendency to make the poet a champion of radicalism in politics, religion, and art. Details of the romantic application need not be given here.⁴ We may, however, note its most significant phases, and again raise the question whether it affords a view sufficiently in accord with Milton's purposes to be acceptable as a basis for critical interpretation.

The beginnings of a more liberally conceived justification of Milton's art we have already noted. The new romantic criticism revolted sharply against neo-classic standards and prided itself upon having rescued Milton, with Shakespeare, from the Procrustean bed of eighteenth century formalism. Setting a supreme value on the imagination as opposed to form or thought the romantic writers saw in Milton the English poet who above all others

rode sublime
Upon the seraph wings of ecstasy,

and they made, more emphatically than the eighteenth century appreciators had made, Milton's imaginative sublimity the true criterion of his greatness. They expatiate on the grandeur of his characters, his images, his verse, illuminating the Miltonic quality with a rich abundance of qualifying phrase. A typical essay is that of Hazlitt, whose treatment of Satan, for instance, considered as a piece of purely descriptive appreciation, can hardly be surpassed:

The poet has not in all this given us a mere shadowy outline; the strength is equal to the magnitude of the conception. The Achilles of Homer is not more distinct; The Titans were not more vast; Prometheus chained to his rock was not a more terrific example of suffering and of crime. Wherever the figure of Satan is introduced, whether he walks or flies, "rising aloft incumbent on the dusky air," it is illustrated with the most striking and appropriate images: so that we see it always before us, gigantic, irregular, portentous, uneasy and disturbed—but dazzling in its faded splendor, the clouded ruins of a god.

⁴ A discussion of the romantic use of Milton in the eighteenth century is to be found in Good, *op. cit.*, 208 ff.

Such a passage suggests the changed relationship of the new age to the poetry of Milton, on the æsthetic side. But the true secret of the Miltonic "revival" of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries lies not solely, not primarily, in a revised estimate of his poetic quality, but in a new interpretation of the moral and spiritual content of his work—a new reading of his "message" to the generations of mankind. It is here that the Romanticists give us a new Milton constituted in their own image and worshipped as they believed, at last in spirit and in truth. This new Milton is first of all a seer, a mystic. His imagination is not so much a quality of literary excellence as it is an instrument wherewith the spirit of man is enabled to pass "the flaming bounds of time and space" and be at one with supersensuous and divine reality. Such he was to Blake, who, notwithstanding his abhorrence of Milton's fundamental creed, had impregnated himself with *Paradise Lost* as he had with Scripture and had fed his own distorted imagination with the poet's creations, unconscious of the impassable gulf which yawned between himself and one whose most rapt imagination never led him for a moment to trespass beyond the bounds of sanity. But more characteristically, perhaps, the romantic Milton is an individual. Admiration for his art is lost in admiration for his personality. His poetry becomes a sublime embodiment of will and passion, an expression of the grandeur of soul which elevated him above the pettiness of his human environment and made him stand firm against the shock of circumstances. For Shelley and Byron he is the type of the free personality, a hero in the warfare against the tyranny of law. It is thus that Shelley apostrophizes him in *Adonais*:

He died,—

Who was the sire of an immortal strain,
Blind, old, and lonely, when his country's pride,
The priest, the slave, and the liberticide,
Trampled and mocked with many a loathed rite
Of lust and blood; he went, unterrified,
Into the gulf of death; but his clear Sprite
Yet reigns o'er earth; the third among the sons of light.

And Byron in the Dedication to *Don Juan*:

If, fallen in evil days on evil tongues,
Milton appealed to the Avenger, Time,
If Time, the Avenger, execrates his wrongs,

And makes the word "Miltonic" mean "sublime,"
He deign'd not to belie his soul in songs,
Nor turn his very talent to a crime;
He did not loathe the Sire to laud the Son
But closed the tyrant-hater he begun.

The "sublimity" of Milton thus becomes a personal quality—sublimity of soul. His works are interpreted in the light of his career, and are read as the record of his life-struggle. This attitude marks an important advance over the sentimental or the purely literary approach of the eighteenth century; its limitation is to be sought in the essential contradiction between the Miltonic and the romantic ideal of character. For Byron, and, to a large extent, Shelley, make Milton what he assuredly was not, an individualist like themselves, averting their eyes from the fact that the controlling principle of his life was after all not rebellion but free obedience. The official morality of *Paradise Lost* is discountenanced; Milton's insistent condemnation of Satan as the inversion of all good is ignored. The poet becomes a witness in spite of himself to the absolute value of "the will not to be changed by time or place" and a chief assailant of the moral and theological system of which he had innocently supposed himself to be a chief defender. Thus *Paradise Lost* is made the text of works and the source of sentiments the purport of which its author would not even have comprehended. From such discipleship as that of the creator of Cain and Manfred the great Puritan would surely have prayed to be delivered. The "fit audience though few" would not have included Byron, and the fame arising from his praise would have sounded something worse distorted than the vain plaudits of the "herd confused" who extol things vulgar and admire they know not what. The poet has himself pronounced the fitting condemnation:

Licence they mean when they cry liberty;
For who loves that, must first be wise and good.

With Shelley the case stands somewhat differently. Inspired to resistance, not by mere passion and expansive egoism, but by a clearly discerned ideal of good, he saw Milton engaged, like himself, in a heroic conflict with the principle of evil in its earthly manifestations of tyranny and injustice. But for Shelley the principle of evil is incarnated in tradition and comes dangerously near to being

identical with law itself. Hence in *Prometheus Unbound*, which more than any other of his works was written under the inspiration of *Paradise Lost*, the typical utterance of the enchained Titan has a Satanic ring. His protest is against government itself, and not solely against government which is tyrannical and corrupt; and, what is more serious, he is an uncompromising enemy of historical Christianity, particularly on its Hebraic side. With such an attitude Milton could have had nothing in common. Had Shelley been less inclined to look in the works of poets he admired as in a mirror, finding there solely an image of himself, he might have remembered that his hero's ideal of government was embodied in the regime of Oliver Cromwell and that his personal religion and morality were squarely founded on the Hebrew Scriptures. Evidence of Shelley's complete inversion of the Miltonic viewpoint is to be found in the following judgment on the morality of *Paradise Lost*: "Milton's Devil, as a moral being, is as far superior to his God as one who perseveres in some purpose which he has conceived to be excellent in spite of adversity and torture, is to one who in the cold security of undoubted triumph, inflicts the most horrible revenge upon his enemy, not from any mistaken notion of inducing him to repent of a perseverance in enmity, but with the alleged design of exasperating him to deserve new torments." In other words Satan and God stand in exactly the relation of Prometheus and Jupiter, and it is in Satan that Shelley finds the true embodiment of Milton's personality and of his moral ideal.

Wordsworth takes a saner view of Milton's personality. He has little to say of his rebellion, much of his stern righteousness and uncompromising idealism. To him the "sublimity" of Milton is a sublimity of character and spiritual insight, not one of passion and will. He invokes the poet's influence against the selfishness and base materialism of the times, crying, as every age has done and will do:

Milton, thou should'st be living at this hour.

In the noble ode in which he formally renounces the authority of impulse in favor of that of the moral law he catches the very phrase with which he addresses his new divinity from Milton's lips:

Stern daughter of the voice of God,
O Duty, if that name thou love.

All this brings Wordsworth very close to the spirit of Milton; it should be noted, however, that his appreciation of Milton is chiefly biographical, and gives no interpretation of *Paradise Lost*, though it points the way to one. Wordsworth shares in the tendency of his age to read Milton's works subjectively, as a personal record, ignoring the objective values which the formal eighteenth century criticism, whatever its limitations, is to be commended for having sought. Characteristically he derives his chief inspiration, not from the epics or dramas, but from the sonnets, the most personal of Milton's works.

As regards interpretation it was the emphasis given by men like Shelley and Byron rather than that of Wordsworth that was destined to survive. Though, to be sure, the excesses of Satan worship did not outlive the Byronic philosophy of life of which they were an essential part, it is not too much to say that later nineteenth century criticism has been largely dominated by the romantic point of view. For most critics Satan has remained the real, if not the technical hero of *Paradise Lost*. The earlier books of the poem have been admired at the expense of the whole, as by Macaulay, who remarked that Milton's reputation would have stood higher if he had written only the first four. The personality of the poet has been sought everywhere in his works and even his most objective utterances have been treated as expressions of his private point of view. That these values exist in *Paradise Lost* no one will for a moment deny. Considered as a whole the romantic appreciation of Milton is more vital, surely, than the Augustan and has justly enough discountenanced it. It has led, however, to the neglect of values not less vital, has distracted attention from important aspects of the poet's genius, and, above all, has stood in the way of a full acceptance of *Paradise Lost* as an embodiment of human truth, a poetic application, in Arnold's phrase, of moral ideas to life.

The fundamental difficulty in the nineteenth century approach to Milton is, after all, identical with that of the eighteenth. It lies in the fact that in either age his way of thought—not his theology only, but his general attitude and outlook—was felt to be obsolete. In the eighteenth century it encountered the general scepticism and materialism of the intellectual classes or the enervated amiability of sentimentalism; in the nineteenth it was sup-

planted by a new idealism, which, having just escaped the shackles of orthodoxy, reacted against the irrationality of Milton's hard and coherent system of theology and, even more violently, against the materialistic terms to which he reduces supersensuous reality. He is unfavorably contrasted in this respect with Dante, whose Heaven of light, and love, and pure spirit is set against Milton's battle-mented and bejewelled city of God, which, despite its splendors, is, as Milton has taken pains to make it, analogous at all points to earth. The same indictment is drawn against the naive materialism of Milton's entire narrative, which is held to do violence even to his own best thought. When, for example, Satan affirms that "the mind is its own place" and when Gabriel holds up to Adam's contemplation "a paradise within thee happier far" Milton has seemed to be transcending the limitations of Puritanism and to be speaking the language of modern idealism, but these utterances are felt to be in contradiction with the basic assumptions of the poem. The idea of a Heaven and Hell of spirit has seemed to accord but ill with the tragedy of the fall, with the facts of Satan's revolt, and with the constitution of a material Hell. To insist on such doctrines would be "to shatter the fabric of the poem." They must not, therefore, be insisted on. From the standpoint of idealism the substance of *Paradise Lost* must be condemned and the whole poem be regarded as an absurd but glorious fiction, based on an obsolete tradition which Milton naively accepted and which he exalted by virtue of his poetic power.

This, essentially, is the view taken by Sir Walter Raleigh, whose work on Milton must rank as the most brilliant treatment of the poet's art in the history of nineteenth century criticism. The study is, indeed, too broad and rich to be confined within a formula, but despite the freshness and sympathy of its treatment and the fullness with which it voices the accumulated wisdom regarding Milton of preceding generations of critics, it is yet limited in scope by preconceptions which its author holds in common with writers like DeQuincy, Masson and Pattison, not to mention others of a still earlier school. In his discussion of the scheme of *Paradise Lost* Raleigh is chiefly concerned with noting the insuperable difficulties imposed not merely upon our belief but on our imagination by the necessity Milton was under of giving "physical, geometric embodiment to a far-reaching scheme of abstract speculation and

thought—parts of it very reluctant to such treatment.” This undoubtedly is sound, but it assumes that the abstract speculation, namely the theology, and not the human reality which coexists with it and takes its significance partly but only partly from it, constitutes the true substance and content of the poem. For Raleigh *Paradise Lost* is neither more nor less than “an imposing monument to dead ideas.” When he comes to deal with the characters of the poem Raleigh’s failure to rate the moral insight of Milton at its true value leads him to judgments to which it is impossible for the present writer to subscribe. By exalting the grandeur of Satan Milton is said to have “stultified the professed moral of the poem and emptied it of all spiritual content, led by a profound poetic instinct to preserve epic truth at all costs.” In his treatment of Adam and Eve he is felt to be dealing essentially with unrealities. Raleigh, though he does not go to such lengths of ridicule as Taine, sees Adam as little better than a stupid and wooden projection of the more forbidding elements of Milton’s Puritan personality. To Eve he allows a certain degree of humanity, but he makes her chiefly the vehicle of a Miltonic diatribe against woman. The concluding judgment is stated quite flatly. “While Milton deals with abstract thought or moral truth his handling is tight, pedantic, and disagreeably hard. But when he comes to describe his epic personages, and his embodied visions, all is power, and vagueness, and grandeur. His imagination, escaped from the narrow prison of his thought, rises like a vapor, and, taking shape before his eyes, proclaims itself his master.”

Now all that Raleigh or any critic claims for the grandeur of Milton’s imagination is undeniably true, but it is to be doubted if the poet himself would have valued an immortality of fame accorded to him only on such terms. The theme of his epic was to him no poetic fiction, and a judgment of his work based on this assumption would have outraged his deepest convictions. For him at least the fall was true, and the conviction of its truth is a condition of the entire sincerity of his treatment. The subject was dignified in his mind, not by its grandeur, but by its superior validity as an explanation of human experience. For it he had discarded the Arthurian material; into it he had thrown his heart. That readers for whom it was no longer in some sense true could by any means enter into a full understanding of his work he would never have believed.

For most modern readers the nineteenth century estimate, as embodied in Raleigh's *Milton*, is the final estimate. The poem is read, if read at all, for its art, its eloquence, its elevation. The events which it recounts and Milton's interpretation of those events are felt to belong to an order of belief which can possess, at best, but a curious historic interest. The poem remains, in Raleigh's phrase, "a monument to dead ideas." It is, of course, of little avail to attempt to restore *Paradise Lost* to its original authority by asking such readers to suspend their disbelief and adopt the convictions which underlie it simply because, without them, it is impossible to regard the work with Milton's eyes. If Milton's thought is really dead it is impossible to galvanize it into life. But it is to mistake the real drift of the newer Miltonic study to assume that it proposes any such factitious rehabilitation of *Paradise Lost*. It proposes rather, as I read it, a reinterpretation and a revaluation of the poem in terms neither of sentimentalism nor of romanticism nor of Victorian idealism but of humanism, and it seeks as a first step toward such revaluation to see Milton's philosophy as a whole by exploring his prose as well as his poetry, to set him in his right relation, not to Puritanism alone, but to the entire Renaissance, and so to realize, through a richer understanding, the significance of his work as poetic criticism of life.

For such a reinterpretation of Milton the way is paved by the fact that the Calvinistic theology is no longer a subject of controversy. It has become possible at last to approach him dispassionately, with due sympathy for whatever we may recover of permanently true and valid from the religious thought of the age. Indeed the virtues of the orthodox way of thinking are quite as apparent to us now as its defects. Thus Chesterton maintains intelligibly enough the validity of the doctrine of original sin. Certainly our reaction against the facile optimism of Victorian religious liberalism, which banished Satan to the limbo of illusion and discovered the joyous fact that all roads lead to Heaven though it were through Hell, has tended to restore to us in a marked degree the moral atmosphere in which Milton lived. Finally the tendency to find sanity and truth in the ideas of the Renaissance has infused new zeal into an Elizabethan scholarship not always so divorced from its human objectives as the critics of our Germanized research would have us believe, with the result that there has been con-

structed a sounder basis for Miltonic criticism than that afforded by the biographical history of Masson.

The outstanding effect of the study of Milton's philosophy as embodied in his poetry and prose, and of the endeavor to relate him more closely to his English predecessors has been to minimize the importance of his theology in the narrower sense, and to exalt in its place, not merely his art and eloquence and imagination, but those elements of insight and reflection which he holds in common with Spenser, Hooker, Shakespeare, and Bacon—men in whose work the northern and southern currents of the age are fused in that richer and profounder creative humanism which is the special contribution of the English Renaissance. The essential character of that humanism is its assertion of the spiritual dignity of man, its recognition of the degree to which his higher destinies are in his own hands, its repudiation of the claim of his lower nature to control his higher or of any force or agency external to his own mind and will to achieve for him salvation. This humanism is sharply and irreconcilably at odds with mediæval thought. It discards, first of all, the ascetic principle and releases for enjoyment and use all the agencies of self-realizing perfection. It proposes, moreover (and this is its essential character) to achieve its goal through the study not of God but of man and it trusts the human reason as well as intuition and revealed truth as the instrument of its knowledge. It turns, therefore, to Scripture for the best record of man's nature in its relation to the God of righteousness and love, then to the *litterae humaniores* of antiquity, where it finds a wider revelation of man as an individual and a citizen, this latter source constituting no denial but a completion of the data afforded by the former.

Now Milton, throughout his life, was a humanist in both his method and his aim. Though inheriting certain mediæval tendencies in thought and art, the bent of his mind, as Professor Ramsay has shown, carried him further and further away from them. He retains to be sure certain fundamental postulates and assurances in common with mediæval Christianity. He is convinced of God, of the fact of evil, of the inevitableness of retribution, and of the hope of Heaven. These postulates are the postulates not of Puritanism alone but of the total humanism of the Renaissance. They are absolutely vital to Milton's thought. The

intellectual scaffolding with which they are supported and which, because of the subject demanded it is given in *Paradise Lost*, though not in *Paradise Regained* or *Samson*, is not thus vital. The real "system" which Milton erects is not a theology but an interpretation of experience, based on the bed rock of human freedom, and formulated under the guiding influence of the Bible, the ancients, and the thinkers and poets of the preceding generation.

To embody such ideas as were really living in Milton's consciousness in imaginative form was in no sense a work of violence. His imagination, instead of "proclaiming itself his master," in the way in which it proclaimed itself, for example, Blake's master, because he surrendered himself wholly to it, is for Milton the powerful instrument wherewith, following methods analogous, in some ways to those of Spenser, in others to those of Shakespeare, he gives to his philosophy of life a local habitation and a name. Nor is he greatly hampered by the literalness of his acceptance of the data afforded by the Biblical tradition. For if the events connected with the fall of man were to him literal facts they were also symbols, and it is upon the rock of their symbolic or universal rather than of their literal and particular truth that his faith was based. In his treatise on Christian Doctrine Milton boldly avows the principle of Biblical interpretation which controls his treatment of the subject matter of *Paradise Lost*. The expressions of Scripture are indeed to be accepted in their literal sense, but they are to be interpreted by the individual judgment and in accord with the superior revelation of the Inner Light, which in the language of the poet's art means nothing less than the inspired imagination. In *Paradise Lost* Milton affirms that the account of the battle in Heaven is merely a way of representing spiritual truth to the human understanding. Obviously his belief is anything but naive. And as to the actual experience of Adam and Eve, not to mention the desperate plot of evil men in Hell to overthrow the reign of righteousness and law, they are richer in human truth than anything in English imaginative literature outside of Shakespeare, and Milton has been able to give them wide and permanent significance by virtue of a lifetime spent in the study of man's nature in its relation to the moral and spiritual forces by which his destiny is shaped.

In this view, therefore, Milton is no mere poetic voice speaking

irrationalities, nor yet simply a transcendent imagination, but a poet of humanity, and *Paradise Lost* is primarily the epic of man's moral struggle, the record of his first defeat and the promise of his ultimate victory. Its necessary counterpart is *Paradise Regained*, in which that promise is fulfilled by the spiritual triumph of the human Christ.

Such is the emphasis toward which the Miltonic scholarship of the present day inevitably leads us. This scholarship is, in general, an outcome of the return to humanism, and contemporary humanists, whatever their special creed, should rejoice in the result. For Milton freed from the perversities of pseudo-classicism, sentimentalism, and romanticism, viewed without controversial rancor, and brought into line with his great predecessors of the Renaissance, is surely an ally. The true Milton is subject to no one of the counts in the fierce indictment which Mr. Babbitt, and Mr. More, and Mr. Sherman are directing against the literature of our own day and of our romantic past. Deeply sympathetic with the aspirations of men toward freedom of life he yet esteems freedom only as the essential condition for the functioning and self-development of the "inner check." Outward freedom and inward control or freedom with discipline is the authentic humanistic formula which Milton applies in all the domains of education, politics, morality, religion, and art. Champion of liberty though he is he yet knows that

orders and degrees

Jar not with liberty but well consent.

The Platonic subordination of the lower faculties of man to the higher is the central doctrine of his philosophy of life. Yet he avoids the danger of asceticism inherent in Plato's thought, condemning the Utopian politics of the *Republic* and repeatedly vindicating the free use of all the instrumentalities of man's self-realization. In the intellectual sphere, filled as he is with the zeal of knowledge and willing to toil unendingly in the search for the scattered members, even to the smallest, of the sacred body of truth, he yet affirms that

Knowledge is as food and needs no less
Her temperance over appetite,

and he permits the angel to warn Adam to

Think only what concerns thee and thy being,

a sentence which, well pondered, might serve as a text for the whole humanistic indictment of the scientific preoccupations of today. In religion he does not rest with "vague intuitions of the infinite," though he is not without them, but soberly worships the God of righteousness whose dwelling is the heart of man. Finally, in art he knows what he wants and knows how to attain it. Creative and original, untrammelled in his effort to realize to the full his imaginative conception and untouched or nearly so by the formalism of the neo-classic creed, he is yet obediently loyal to the laws of a disciplined taste and he is wisely regardful of the ancients, those "models as yet unequalled of any" in excellence of literary form.

These profound convictions put Milton clearly on the side of contemporary humanism, a humanism which, however "new," is not without its essential community with the old. Such in future appreciation he will more and more be felt to be. We have insisted too long on the supposed austerity of his temper and on the narrowness of his Puritan thought; we have misinterpreted the character of the change in viewpoint of his later years and have failed to perceive that instead of passing farther from the Renaissance he had moved nearer to its central truths. Finally, adopting Arnold's hard and fast distinction of Hebraism and Hellenism, we have assumed too readily that the Reformation and the Renaissance are in Milton contradictory and irreconcilable motives, omitting to credit him with a conscious and consistent endeavor to harmonize them, which at least challenges attention. This, indeed, is Milton's peculiar contribution to the cause and philosophy of humanism, and there is a special significance in the fact that his is the final word of the whole era. Not earlier perhaps, was even an attempt at such a conscious synthesis possible, and without the aid of poetry it could hardly even so have been accomplished. Due allowance being made for an antiquated manner of expression, Milton has given as goodly and comprehensive a formula for the aim and method of education as is to be found in the literature of the Renaissance or as any humanist could wish:

The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge

of God and things invisible, as by conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching. And seeing every nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kinds of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after wisdom. . . . I call therefore a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.

Complementary to this is his description of the poet's function:

These abilities, wheresoever they may be found, are the gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with his providence in his church; to sing the victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapse of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable and grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all these to paint out and describe with a solid and treatable smoothness.

There is little need to quarrel with the didactic bias of Milton's theory. It imposes no necessary limitation on the scope of his art, but merely commits him to a high seriousness of purpose which is in accord with the best traditions of the age. Its practical results are *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, works in which the total Renaissance is summed up and revealed as one, through a harmony of its great ideals of beauty, righteousness, and truth. Such a harmony, though made, no doubt, in the special language of the times, is valid for all times. We shall yet learn, it may be, to regard Milton as a more authentic spokesman than we had believed of three great centuries by no means silent, and we shall know him as a powerful voice of guidance amid the chaos of the present day.

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MILTON'S KNOWLEDGE OF GEOGRAPHY

BY ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON

Although the controversies in which he ardently engaged have been long forgotten, Peter Heylyn is still remembered by students of seventeenth-century literature and history. That he was delegated by King Charles to defend the Anglican idea of the Sabbath against the arguments of the Puritans; that he prepared the case against William Prynne, the encyclopedic opponent of stage-plays, and at Oxford contributed to the first royalist newspaper, *Mercurius Aulicus*; or even that his old enemy, Bishop Williams, interrupted one of Heylyn's sermons in Westminster Abbey by rapping with his cane on the stone floor and calling out, "No more of that point, Peter,"—all now are matters of little import. But Heylyn was something more than theologian and controversialist. At the age of seventeen he began to lecture at Oxford on historical geography, and a few years later he published the famous *Microcosmos, A Little Description of the Great World*. By an unfortunate remark in this work he was forced to travel through France, almost as unwillingly as Tartarin of Tarascon set out to hunt the lions of Atlas. Heylyn had thoughtlessly noted in his geography that, in comparison with England, France "is the greater and more famous kingdom," and even more thoughtlessly he had presented a copy to the Prince of Wales. King James took offense at the slur on England, and, though the author laid all blame for the use of the present tense on the printer and insisted that he had spoken of the kingdoms in ancient times, he was forced to seek in France materials for a "survey" of the country that might ease the wounded pride of his sovereign. He never travelled elsewhere, yet he became one of England's noted geographers. In 1640, as he was going to answer the summons of a Parliamentary committee, he was rabbled on the streets of London, and a burly fellow in the crowd cried "in a hoarse voice these words, Geography is better than Divinity."¹ The insulted divine was puzzled to know just what the gibe might mean. But posterity, it seems, has formed its own conclusions, and is

¹ *Cosmographie*, "To the Reader."

grateful to Peter Heylyn only for the quaint gossip and learning of the *Microcosmos* and the *Cosmographie*.

A widespread interest in geography is still plainly discernible in the writings of the men of Heylyn's time. John Donne, naturally, traveler and adventurer that he was, drew many of his strange fancies from maps and globes and the marvelous reports of the "sea-discoverers." But even the more "home-keeping" author of the *Tempest* used the story of the Sea-Venture's narrow escape from shipwreck and the devil-haunted Bermuda islands for the basis of his play. Returned travelers walked the streets of London in strange attire, distressing men less caustic than the youthful satirist, Donne, with their strange jargon and their incredible tales. Just as frequently, however, scholars might be found in their libraries studying their charts, or, like genial Tom Fuller, working laboriously on their maps. And the boy Richard Hakluyt, enkindled by the enthusiasm of an older cousin, took as the motto of his life's work the verse of the Psalmist, "They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters: these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep." What wonder that all men felt the passion! The newly discovered truths appealed both to the scholarly and to the merely curious. Into the explorations went England's hope of national expansion, its patriotism and long pent-up hatred of Spain, its fervor for the Protestant faith.

No scholar of the seventeenth century felt a keener interest in geography than did John Milton. Apparently, he had but slight sympathy with the far-reaching plans for colonial expansion. At least, he regretted that such "numbers of faithful and freeborn Englishmen, and good Christians, have been constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, whom nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America, could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops."² Nevertheless, he knew what the explorers had found in the western world, as references in *Paradise Lost* show.³ He considered foreign travel one means "of completing . . . juvenile studies, and of picking up knowledge wherever it may be found"⁴; and in his blindness, as he wrote his

² *Of Ref.*, 2, p. 399. ✓

³ See, too, *Areopagitica*, p. 69, "Far easier and shorter than an Indian voyage, though it could be sailed either by the north of Cathay eastward, or of Canada westward."

⁴ *Familiar Letters*, 23. ✓

epic, he recalled the scenery that he had enjoyed, long before, in Italy. "The study of geography" seemed to him "both profitable and delightful." And because other writers in this field had erred either through too close an adherence to bare fact or through an excessive fondness for the "absurd superstitions, ceremonies, quaint habits, and other petty circumstances" of foreign peoples, he advised, and in his *History of Moscovia* began, a series of monographs dealing with different countries then but slightly known to Englishmen.⁵ Lastly, several years after he had become totally blind, he arranged with a friend on the Continent for the purchase of a newly published atlas of the world.⁶

In Milton's pursuit of geographical knowledge one finds the same eclectic habits of mind that he displayed in all his other varied intellectual and artistic employments. Whether he was writing a pastoral elegy, or systematizing his theories of education, or discussing the function and origin of kingship, he had, as mental equipment, the best that either the ancient or the modern world could offer for his aid. The part of the Bee in Swift's clever fable precisely represents Milton's eclecticism. Herodotus and Plutarch had familiarized him with the geography of classical history. He knew, as well, Strabo's work and advised the use of Pomponius Mela's *De Chorographia* in the schools. But, at the same time, he had read the discoveries of recent explorers in the great collections of Purchas and Hakluyt, and had followed their journeyings closely in the best available atlases. Where he used the information as fact, he was accurate and sure; where his purpose was poetical, he transmuted fact into artistic forms. The finely colored reference in *Lycidas* to Arethusa is only a poet's vision of an old myth, contained, for example, in that barren little table of facts, the *De Chorographia*, where it is said, "fons est in quo visuntur iacta in Alpheum amnem ut diximus Peloponnesiaco litori infusum: unde ille creditur non se consociare pelago, sed subter maria terrasque depressus huc agere alveum atque hic se rursus extollere."⁷ In the same way the legend connected with St. Michael's

⁵ *History of Moscovia*, Preface.

⁶ *Familiar Letters*, 20. 1656.

⁷ Bk. 2, 117. In the tract *Of Education*, in connection with the study of Mela and the geographers in general, Milton noted: "It will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern author the use of globes, and all the maps, first, with the old names, and then with the new."

Mount is transformed by the alchemy of the poet. Yet no geographer could be more accurate than Milton is on the roads leading to Rome and on other details of fact.

Milton's most exclusive, matter-of-fact treatment of geography is found in one of the least known of all his works—the *Brief History of Moscovia*. This is nothing other than a summary of his readings in the works of modern explorers. He found this study "both profitable and delightful." He felt, also, that a few geographers, on the one hand, had been "too brief and deficient" in their reports, while more, on the other hand, had been so "voluminous and impertinent" as to "cloy and weary out the reader." There was an opportunity, therefore, for learned and judicious men to undertake the description of separate countries. He himself compiled, from the writings of many observers, such a brief account of Moscovia, for which, as a guarantee of accuracy, he drew up a list of his authorities at the end and cited numerous references in the margins.

The *Brief History of Moscovia*, in short, is simply a composite of the narratives found in Hakluyt and Purchas. The first chapter reproduces the stories of Chancellor, Jenkinson, and other travelers through Russia. In chapters two and three, in which remoter lands northeast of Russia are described, Milton's main source was the *Pilgrimage*. The chapter on the royal families was taken directly from one section of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, and the fifth chapter, dealing with the first discovery of Russia, is, like the first, a summary of the adventures of Willoughby, Chancellor, Randolph, and their followers. Occasionally, Milton's account includes more than is to be found on the page to which he refers, a variation that would result from dependence on a commonplace book. Yet in the main the author's footnotes are accurate.

The following excerpts will show how close Milton's statements are to his sources:

Mosco the chief city, lying in fifty-five degrees, distant from St. Nicholas fifteen hundred miles, is reputed to be greater than London with the suburbs, but rudely built; their houses and churches most of timber, few of stone, their streets unpaved; it hath a fair castle four-

The Mosco it selfe is great: I take the whole towne to bee greater then London with the suburbs: but it is very rude, and standeth without all order. Their houses are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Castle, the walles whereof are of bricke, and

square, upon a hill, two miles about, with brick walls very high, and some say eighteen foot thick, sixteen gates, and as many bulwarks. Milton, p. 397.

This place was called the golden palace, but without cause, for the Englishmen had seen many fairer; round about the room, but at distance, were other long tables; in the midst a cupboard of huge and massy goblets, and other vessels of gold and silver; among the rest four great flaggons nigh two yards high, wrought in the top with devices of towers and dragons' heads. The guests ascended to their tables by three steps. . . . The messes came in without order, but all in chargers of gold. . . . Before meat came in, according to the custom of their kings, he sent to every guest a slice of bread. Milton, p. 422.

very high: they say they are eightene foote thicke, but I doe not beleuee it, it doth not so seeme, notwithstanding I doe not certainly know it: for no stranger may come to viewe it. Hakluyt, p. 238

I was sent for againe unto another palace which is called the golden palace, but I saw no cause why it should be so called; for I haue seene many fayrer then it in all poynts. . . . From thence I came into the dining chamber, where the Duke himselfe sate at his table without cloth of estate, in a gowne of siluer, with a crowne imperiall upon his head, he sate in a chaire somewhat hie: There sate none neare him by a great way. There were long tables set round about the chamber which were full set with such as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Also the places where the tables stoode were higher by two steppes then the rest of the house. In the midst of the chamber stoode a table or cupboard to set plate on; which stood full of cuppes of golde; and amongst all the rest there stoode foure marueilous great pottes or crudences as they call them, of golde and siluer: I thinke they were a good yarde and a halfe hie. . . . And for his seruice at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich seruice: for all were serued in gold. . . . Before the seruice came in, the Duke sent to euery man a great shiuer of bread, and the bearer called the party so sent to by his name aloude, and sayd, John Basilliuch Emperour of Russia and great Duke of Mosconia doth reward thee with bread. . . . Also before dinner hee changed his

crowne, and in dinner time two crownes; so that I saw three seuerall crownes upon his head in one day. Hakluyt, p. 238.

The north parts of this country are so barren, that the inhabitants fetch their corn a thousand miles; and so cold in winter, that the very sap of their woodfuel burning on the fire freezes at the brand's end, where it drops. The mariners, which were left on shipboard in the first English voyage thither, in going up only from the cabins to the hatches, had their breath so congealed by the cold, that they fell down as it were stifled. Milton, p. 395.

The north parts of the Countrey are reported to be so cold, that the very ice or water which distilleth out of the moist wood which they lay upon the fire is presently congealed and frozen; the diuersitie growing suddenly to be so great, that in one and the selfe same fire-brand, a man shall see both fire and ice. . . . Our mariners which we left in the ship in the meane time to keepe it, in their going up onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes so suddenly taken away, that they eft-soones fell downe as men very neere dead. Hakluyt, p. 248.

Thence to the dangerous river Owiga, wherein are waterfalls as steep as from a mountain, and by the violence of their descent kept from freezing: so that the boats are to be carried there a mile over land. Milton, p. 399.

At a place where the water falleth from the rocks, as if it came steepe downe from a mountain, we were constrained to take out our goods and wares out of the said boats, and caused them to be caried a mile ouer land. Hakluyt, p. 386.

These few parallel passages demonstrate the almost slavish fidelity of Milton to the narratives in Hakluyt. The facts that he drew from Purchas's *Pilgrimage* are woven together into a more independent description. In general, Milton transferred from his sources only those details that seemed most essential, and, by leaving out many trivial experiences that had impressed the minds of the actual travelers, lost much of the personal and graphic touch that their accounts possess. Occasionally, too, his prejudices or natural habits of mind governed the choice of material. For example, in regard to laws of inheritance, he seemed to stress the exclusion of the female heirs; and, of the several presents customarily given by the groom to the bride, he saw fit to notice only the whip, and passed over the needles, thread, silk, linen, and

shears.⁸ Milton's general method will become obvious if what he says concisely on the disposition of property is compared with this more detailed story from Chancellor:⁹

Also, if any gentleman or man of liuing do die without issue male, immediately after his death the Duke entreth his land, notwithstanding he haue neuer so many daughters, and peradventure giueth it foorthwith to another man, except a small portion that he spareth to marrie the daughters with all. Also if there be a rich man, a fermour, or man of liuing, which is stricken in age or by chance is maimed, and be not able to doe the Duke seruice, some other gentleman that is not able to liue and more able to doe seruice, will come to the Duke and complayne, saying, your Grace hath such an one, which is unmeete to doe seruice to your Highnes, who hath great abundance of welth, and likewise your Grace hath many gentlemen which are poore and lacke liuing, and we that lacke are well able to doe good seruice, your Grace might doe well to looke upon him, and make hym to helpe those that want. Immediately the Duke sendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be so proued, he shall be called before the Duke, and it shall bee sayd unto him, friend, you haue too much liuing, and are unseruiceable to your prince, lesse will serue you, and the rest will serue other men that are more able to serue. Whereupon immediately his liuing shal be taken away from him, sauings a little to find himselfe and his wife on, and he may not once repine thereat.

Of all this Milton reproduced only the bare facts. In the same bald style he noted the Russian marriage ceremonies, which are described by Jenkinson. The voyager gave them in detail and then added the information that during the feast "the boyes in the streetes crie out and make a noyse in the meane time, with very dishonest wordes." Finally, he recounted this very amusing custom:

When they are going to bedde, the bridegrome putteth certain money both golde and siluer, if he haue it, into one of his boots, and then sitteth down in the chamber, crossing his legges, and then the bride must plucke off one of his boots, which she will, and if she happen on the boote wherein the money is, she hath not onely the money for her labor, but is also at such choyse, as she need not euer from that day forth pul off his boots, but if she misse the boot wherein the money is, she doth not onely loose the money, but is also bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.¹⁰

In this exact but abbreviated way Milton's narrative follows the stories of Hakluyt's voyagers on matters such as divorce, the burial

⁸ *History*, pp. 399, 402.

⁹ Hakluyt, pp. 239-240.

¹⁰ Hakluyt, p. 322.

of the dead, the use of sleds, and the coronation of a czar. But when he wished he could use this uncolored material in *Paradise Lost* for higher ends. Mere facts are finely sublimated in these lines, for example:

As when two polar winds, blowing adverse
Upon the Cronian sea, together drive
Mountains of ice, that stop the imagined way
Beyond Petsora eastward to the rich
Cathaian coast.¹¹

Yet behind this splendid figure lie the prosaic words of Milton's history:

The river Pechora or Petzora, holding his course through Siberia, how far the Russians thereabouts know not, runneth into the sea at seventy-two mouths, full of ice.¹²

The *Brief History of Moscovia* is Milton's most exclusive treatment of a geographical subject. As a poet he used his knowledge in a less consistent, less matter-of-fact way. His allusions to places often resemble his mention of classical myths; they lend richness and color to his expression. Indeed, many times myth and geography blend, as they do in the beautiful mention of St. Michael's Mount. Other references to distant places are used to give the needed setting for the epics. Several passages present to the reader a detailed, map-like picture of a whole continent, or even more. But even here fact is still incidental to story or imagination. And the poet's sources are diverse. The Bible and classical history were probably his first teachers. The history of Diodorus Siculus yielded its rich quota. In addition, his own contemporaries, Heylyn and Richard Knolles and George Sandys, one in his *Cosmographie*, especially, the second in his history of the Turks, and the third in an interesting record of Oriental travel, were not without influence. In them Milton found the old knowledge of the ancients supplemented by newly acquired facts and seasoned with interesting gossip and conjecture. Proof, moreover, will soon be given that Milton read these works always with close reference to the best maps, old and new.

Some of the most interesting of these old books are hardly known today. Because no English translation of Diodorus Siculus was

¹¹ P. L., 10, ll. 289-293. *History*, p. 396.

available before 1653, Milton necessarily read it in some old Latin folio edition. He would not have given unqualified assent to the encomium of the first English translator, Henry Cogan,—that “we may out of him [Diodorus], as out of a great and spacious River, draw all that hath been done by the people of the habitable Earth.” Nevertheless, he would agree heartily with the author's own statement, that “all men verily are much beholding to good Historians, who with their diligence and labor have instructed them in the Form and Manner of living well, when as they teach and shew to Readers, by the Examples of things past, that which we ought to flye from, or follow.” Furthermore, he would listen to Diodorus with respect, since the old historian, as he assures us, in the thirty years devoted to the preparation of the work, had “travelled through a great part of Asia and Europe, to the end that by viewing most of the places whereof we have treated, we might speak the more certainly of them.” The first complete translation of the Sicilian's work contains 797 pages, folio, exclusive of the indices. In it the author of *Paradise Lost* might read interesting accounts of the stronghold, Nysa, the Serbonian morass, the odors wafted to seamen from Araby the Blest, and the snow-capped mountains of Armenia. The history, in short, is a vast storehouse of geographical information, sufficiently amplified and enlivened to leave on the reader's mind a strong impression.

Two other books, then comparatively new, may have contributed something to Milton's comprehensive knowledge of the Holy Land. Richard Knolles' *Generall Historie of the Turkes unto the Yeare 1610*, and George Sandys' *Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610*, which describes the Turkish Empire, Palestine, and the remote possessions of Italy, show clearly the general interest taken by Englishmen in Asia as a whole. Milton, therefore, who had never visited the Orient, found much trustworthy information to guide him.

Since the plots of both his epic poems are laid in the Holy Land, Milton had to fix, more or less definitely, the boundaries of Eden. The writer of *Genesis*, apparently, wished to localize the spot exactly, from the four rivers that he mentioned by name. However explicit his statements may be, they do not conform with modern topography closely enough to settle the vexed question. Consequently, in the seventeenth century speculation had long been rife.

Josephus had fixed the position of Eden in the far east, identifying two of the rivers with the Indus and the Nile. Others, like Calvin, believed Babylonia to have been the seat of the Garden, and still others looked to Armenia for the rivers that might serve to fit the description.¹² The general opinion has been that the Tigris and Euphrates referred to in the Bible are the modern rivers bearing those names, and that the topography of the region differed somewhat from that of today. Purchas admitted the difficulty of reaching a solution of the problem.¹³ "Now the place," he wrote, "cannot be found in earth, but is become a common place in mens braines, to macerate and vex them in the curious search hereof." He knew that Peter Comestor as well as Strabo would have Eden "a pleasant Region . . . separated from our habitable world, and lifted up to the circle of the Moone." "Others," he added, "place it Eastward, in the highest top of the earth, where the foure Rivers, mentioned by Moses, haue their originall." But Purchas was conscious that "the discouery of the World by Trauellers, and description thereof by Geographers, will not suffer us to follow them." It would be equally wrong, he believed, to "account so much to Paradise as those foure Riuers doe water, euen the chiefe part of Afrika and Asia," for such an assumption would presuppose that Adam was as "couetous as his posteritie" in his effort "to husband so large Countries."¹⁴ Purchas mentioned more approvingly the idea of Junius that the four rivers were only so many parts of the Euphrates, and referred to a map of Eden by the great Dutch scholar. Purchas, however, had little patience with such quibbling over uncertainties. "This place," he concluded, "will not serue to dispute this point. If those Riuers doe not now remaine, or haue altered eyther channell or names, it is no new thing in so olde a continuance of the world. It is more then probable, that here in these parts Paradise was, although now deformed by the Floud, and by Time consumed, and become a Stage of Barbarism."

The map of Junius mentioned above is not easily accessible now. An interesting chart of the Holy Land, however, was published by Thomas Fuller in 1639 in the *Holy War*, after he had examined over thirty maps and descriptions of the country. His drawing shows a little two-masted ship sailing across the Mediterranean Sea

¹² See Schaff-Herzog, *s. v.* Eden.

¹³ *Pilgrimage*, chap. 3.

¹⁴ *Pilgrimage*, chap. 3.

towards Palestine, while two strange-looking fish disport themselves beside it. All the seas and rivers of the land are plainly designated, and the high places of the priests are especially indicated by little turrets that resemble modern road-rollers more nearly than city walls or temples. Aaron's grave is precisely marked, as well as Jacob's bridge over the Jordan and Nebo mountain, which furnished the Pisgah sight of Palestine. On the summit stands Moses himself, staff in hand, looking off toward the "Sandy Desert," where two camels and a Bedouin chieftain lend local color to the place. Fuller, the untravelled geographer, was often badly puzzled because no two of the many maps he had seen were "in all considerations alike"; "some sink valleys where others raise mountains; yea, end rivers where others begin them; and sometimes with a wanton dash of their pen, create a Stream in Land, and Creek in Sea, more than Nature ever owned." Consequently, he could do no better than to follow Scripture as his "impartial umpire."

Milton would doubtless consent to leave the site of Eden undetermined and press the search no further.¹⁵ In *Paradise Lost* Satan is said to approach the garden from Mount Niphates in Armenia. He finds that the garden extends from Auran, a place in Mesopotamia, to Seleucia, a city on the Tigris near the site of modern Bagdad. But the boundaries north and south are left vague. Milton, in other words, took the theory that seemed most plausible, but used only so much of it as was needed for the poet's work and left to others all useless speculation as to the four rivers and the exact limits of mankind's first home.¹⁶ The noticeable absence of dogmatism in his description was due, not to the clouded memory of the blind poet, but to his realization of the insufficiency of the evidence at hand.

On other matters, where the Biblical writers are more specific, the poet's statements are marked with precision. According to the compiler of *Numbers*, the Lord revealed to Moses the exact boundaries of the Promised Land for those tribes that had not already come into their inheritance "near Jerico eastward toward the sunrising."¹⁷ The bare enumeration is totally devoid of human interest. Yet Milton transformed it into his long and beautiful

¹⁵ See *Paradise Lost*, 7, ll. 119-124.

¹⁶ See note by Masson, *Paradise Lost*, 4, l. 210.

¹⁷ *Numbers*, 34, 3-15.

story of the wanderings of the chosen people, from the time when they left their homes in Ur of Chaldea until their final abode was reached after the Egyptian sojourn. Historically his account is accurate, and geographically it is detailed and clear. That the creator of the great council scene in Hell or of the evening scene in Eden could handle naked fact with this power, is simply marvelous. The Puritan poet had certainly not fallen asleep over the first pages of the Bible, as Lamartine alleged; nor had his memory of places once known on the maps been dimmed by affliction.

We suspect that Milton's contemporaries found in this long restatement of the Old Testament chronicle an interest that modern readers do not even profess. The great atlas of Ortelius published at Antwerp in the year 1609 contains a large map of Canaan. At the bottom of the page a smaller diagram is printed, entitled "Abrahami Patriarchæ Peregrinatio et Vita." On the chart a dotted line traces the wanderings of the Israelites from Ur Chaldeorum, in the southwest corner, a city marked with two spires, northwestward across the fords of the Euphrates, then westward across the Arabian desert to Shechem. The line then follows the further migration of the people southward through Bethel, Hebron, Salem, and Beersheba and over the desert toward Egypt. All about the map are set small pictures, such as were to be found in the *Biblia Pauperum*, representing scenes from Abraham's career. How many of the first readers of *Paradise Lost* stopped to trace Milton's story on this map would be, even for an antiquary like Sir Thomas Browne, "beyond all conjecture."

Several times in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* Milton brings together an extensive geographical panorama, as Adam and Christ look forth over the earth stretched before them. In a way, such wide surveys are akin to the massed allusions to mythology often found in the epics.¹⁸ The rapid succession of proper names serves to express the thought that Milton has to convey, and, at the same time, to create the atmosphere and the harmony of verse that the epic needs.

One of the most interesting of these broad canvases has been neatly analyzed by Masson. Adam, standing with the angel on the hill top, sees far in the distance the two Tartarian cities, Samarcand

¹⁸ Osgood, *Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems*, p. xv.

and Cambalu. Still more to the east lies Paguin, or Pekin. From that point his gaze moves southward and eastward across India and into Persia and Russia, then included as a part of Asia. Agra and Lahore, Ecbatana and Ispahan, and Moscow are especially mentioned. Then he looks south, down the eastern coast of Africa, over Ercoco, Mombaza, Quiloa, Melinda, and Sofala, and around the Cape and up the western coast to the Mediterranean states, Tunis, Morocco, Algeria, and Tremisen. Adam's vision is then directed over Europe, where it rests for a moment on Rome, then the mistress of the world, before it reaches farther, across the Atlantic, to Mexico, Cresco in Peru, and Guiana. After revealing to Adam in this way the four continents, the angel discloses the course of human history in the generations to come. For this story the world-wide panorama serves as the setting.

The whole passage proves clearly the tenacity of Milton's memory. He had read of some of these places in Plutarch and the classical historians; he had come to know others in the writings of recent explorers; and he had sought out all on the maps that were available. The fine atlas of Ortelius could easily have stimulated his imagination in youth. On its map of Tartary the site of Cambalu is marked by several tents, in one of which the hero himself is sitting, sceptre in hand. Around the tents runs the inscription: "Magnus Cham (quod lingua Tartarorum Imperatorem sonat) maximus Asie princeps." The capital of mighty Tamburlaine is indicated by several spires and the inscription: "Samarchand magni Tamber; quondâ sedes." Pekin is placed by Ortelius just inside the great wall of China, which is fully described in these words: "Murus quadringentiarum leucarum, inter montium crepidines a rege Chine contra Tartarorum ab hac parte eruptiones, extructus." Elsewhere in the atlas the other places named by Milton can be found, though Ortelius uses the modern name Constantinople instead of Bizance. Even the town Tremisen is marked on the northern coast of Africa, exactly as it is spelled by Milton, and Masson's guess regarding its identity was uncalled for. The name is spelled in the same way by Heylyn in *Cosmographie*, where Milton possibly learned of Al-Mansur, the only personal name in the passage, on which, of course, Ortelius offers no information. The person to whom Milton here refers was presumably, not the second of the Abbaside dynasty, as Mason conjectures, but the

Fatimite ruler of that name who gained control of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Fez in the tenth century.¹⁹

The geographical panoramas of *Paradise Regained* are less comprehensive than this in *Paradise Lost*, and therefore, for the present purpose, less interesting. In one of them Christ is urged by Satan to look from the mountain, his point of vantage, over Asia. In the second picture his attention is directed toward Rome. The chief interest of each passage is historical, not geographical, and, in certain parts of the first, the reader feels that Milton is employing the proper names simply to produce harmony of verse, a suspicion that never comes in the reading of Adam's vision.

Since much that is included in these visions of Christ could have been gathered from Diodorus Siculus, whose great work has already been briefly described, it may not be irrelevant to show what Milton might have taken from it. The work was a treasure-trove of information for the poet.

In *Paradise Lost* we find the simile:

A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog
Betwixt Damietta and Mount Casius old,
Where armies whole have sunk.

The description could have been drawn from this passage in Diodorus:

There's a Lake between Coelo-Syria and Egypt, very narrow, but exceeding deep, even to a Wonder, two Hundred Furlongs in length, call'd Serbon: If any through Ignorance approach it, they are lost irrecoverably; for the Channel being very narrow, like a Swadling-band, and compass'd round with vast heaps of Sand, great quantities of it are cast into the Lake, by the continu'd Southern Winds, which so cover the Surface of the Water, and make it to the view so like unto Dry Land, that it cannot possibly be distinguish'd; and therefore many unacquainted with the nature of the Place, by missing their way, have been there swallow'd up, together with whole Armies.²⁰

The same source is to be presupposed for this interesting geographical legend:

¹⁹ "Rabut, or Rubut, built by Mansor, or Almansor, a king of Morocco, near the mouth of the River Burugrug; and by him made one of the best peopled towns in Africa." *Cosmographie*, ed. 1657, p. 954.

²⁰ P. L., 2, 592-594. Diodorus, p. 14 and also p. 60.

As, when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabean odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the Blest.

Keitley accuses Milton of error here, on the ground that a mariner coasting the shore of Mozambique would be in no position to catch the odors wafted from Arabia by a northeast wind. Masson, however, rightly calls attention to the bulging of the shore line on the old maps and the description of Arabia in Diodorus. It reads:

Higher in the heart of the Country, are shady Woods and Forests, grac'd and beautify'd with stately Trees of Frankincence and Myrrh, Palm Trees, Calamus, and Cinamon, and such like odoriferous Plants. For none can enumerate the several natures and properties of so great a multitude, or the excellency of those sweet Odours that breath out of every one of them. For their Fragrancy is such, that it even ravishes the Senses with delight, as a thing divine and unutterable; it entertains them that sail along by the Coast at a great distance with its Pleasures and Delights. For in Spring-time the Winds from off the Land waft the Air perfum'd with the sweet Odours of Mirrh, and other Oderiferous Plants, to those Parts of the Sea that are next to them.²¹

More than once, also, Milton mentions the "asphaltic pool," as though it was strongly fixed in his memory. In the hall built by Mammon in Hell, for example,

From the archèd roof
Pendent by subtle magic, many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets, fed
With naptha and asphaltus, yielded light
As from a sky.

Diodorus described the lake fully: ²²

There's likewise a large Mere which produces Brimstone, from whence they raise no small Revenue: It's Five Hundred Furlongs in length, and Sixty in breadth: The Water for Smell stinks, and is bitter in Taste, so that neither Fish, nor any other living thing us'd to the Water can live there. . . . Every Year the Brimstone rises up out of the middle of the Mere, some Pieces Two, and others Three Plethras Square in quantity. . . . When the Brimstone swims upon the Water, it represents at a distance the form of an Island. There are apparent Signs of casting up of the

²¹ *P. L.*, 4, ll. 159-165. Also *P. R.*, 2, ll. 363-365. Diodorus, pp. 79, 107.

²² *P. L.*, 1, l. 411, 726-730, 10, l. 298. Diodorus, p. 79.

Brimstone Twenty Days before; for every where round the Lake for many Furlongs distant, a Steam arises with a stinking smell, and all Gold, Silver, or Brass near those Places, change their natural Colour; but return to their former, when all the Brimstone is exhal'd.²³

Just as clearly, the poet's description of the snow-topped mountains of Armenia is brought to mind by this passage in the old geography:

But as they march'd over the Mountains of Armenia, the Snow was so very deep, they were in danger every Man to be lost. For at the first when the Wind begins to rise, the Snow falls but leisurely and by degrees, so that it occasions no great molestation or trouble to the Travellers: But then presently the Wind increasing, the Snow falls so tempestuously, and on a suddain covers the ground so thick and deep that none can possibly see before them, nor know where they are.²⁴

To explain one of the cumulative allusions of the epic a reader must refer to Heylyn or Purchas as well as to Diodorus. The Garden of Eden, as Milton described it, far surpassed in beauty the field of Enna, the grove of Daphne, the isle Nysa, or Mount Amara. The comparison closes with these words:²⁴

Nor that Nyseian isle,
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Libyan Jove,
Hid Amalthea, and her florid son,
Young Bacchus, from his stepdame Rhea's eye;
Nor, where Abassin kings their issue guard,
Mount Amara (though this by some supposed
True Paradise) under the Ethiop line
By Nilus' head, enclosed with shining rock,
A whole day's journey high.

The allusion to Ammon is amply explained by Diodorus:

Amongst other things, he says, that Ammon a King, reigning in some part of Lybia, marry'd Rhea, the Daughter of Cœlus, sister of Saturn and the other Titans; and that when he came first to the Kingdom, he met with a beautiful Virgin call'd Amalthea, upon the Ceranean Mountains, and falling in Love with her, begat a Son of her. . . . But Ammon fearing the rageful Jealousy of Rhea, conceal'd his Adultery, and privately sent away the Child afar off to the City Nysa, which lyes in an Island almost inaccessible, surrounded by the River Triton, into which there is but one strait and narrow Entrance, call'd the Nysian Gates.

²³ P. 371. Cf. P. L., 3, l. 432.

²⁴ P. L., 4, ll. 275-278. Diodorus, p. 120.

Miss Lockwood has pointed out that the island is represented in just this way in the atlas of Ortelius that Milton must have known.²⁵ On the map of Africa Propria given near the end of the volume the three lakes of the river Triton are outlined, Libya Palus, Pallas Palus, and Tritonis Palus. In the last the island Nyssa is placed.

The second reference in the passage just quoted, to Mount Amara, may have been suggested either by Heylyn or Purchas.²⁶ Heylyn's description reads:

Amara, is situated in the middle of the Countrey. In this there is a hill of the same name, being in circuit 90 miles, and a dayes journey high: on the toppe whereof are 34 Pallaces, in which the younger sonnes of the Emperour are continually inclosed to avoyd sedition: & from hence some one of them, who is most hopefull, or best liked, is again brought out if the Emperour die sonneless, to be made successour. This mountain hath but one assent up, which is impregnably fortified; and was destinate to this use Anno 470, or thereabouts, by the Emperour Abraham Philip.²⁷

Through such excerpts as these a good idea of the work of Diodorus Siculus and other similar histories, can easily be gained. It is more difficult to describe the splendid atlases that Milton knew in a way that will even suggest the charm that they have for the book-lover. The huge folios are fine specimens of early book-making; the engraving of the maps, the typography of the pages, and the binding, all are admirably done. And what a diversity of interest in the contents! In the prefaces a touch of theology, as the author expounds the reason for the world's creation, as well as full explanation of geographical terms. On the maps themselves, enriched as they are with pictures of strange animals and queer little vessels or carts and barbarian chieftains, all the romance of history and folk-lore. A man who has once handled one of these old folios understands Charles Lamb's preference for "old Ortelius" over the more modern and authentic Arrowsmith.

In 1580 an edition of Ortelius' atlas was published at Antwerp with the title, *Theatrum oder Schawbuech des Erdtkreijs*. The name itself on the brightly colored title-page is surrounded by an architectural design which is explained in a long poem, printed both in Latin and in German. At the top of the picture is the

²⁵ *M. L. N.*, 21, p. 86.

²⁶ *Pilgrimage*, 3'd ed. p. 838. *Microcosmos*, p. 728.

²⁷ *Microcosmos*, p. 728.

crowned queen, Europa, with a sceptre in her right hand and a globe under her left. In the center, on either side of the title, Asia and Africa are depicted—Asia adorned with pearls and carrying a censer, Africa a naked maiden. At the bottom of the page lies another barbarian woman, representing America, holding a club in one hand and a man's bleeding head in the other. The head and shoulders of the woman near her are designed to represent the half-discovered lands first seen by Magellan.

On the opposite page of the atlas the reader finds the interesting inscription: "M. Tullius Cicero spricht: Als Pferdt ist zu tragen und ziehen geschaffen: der Ochs zum pfluegen und Acker bawen: der Hund zu jagen und das Haus zu verwahren: aber der Mensch die gelegenheyt der Welt mit den augen des Verstandes zu bedencken und zu erwegen." This is followed by a portrait of the old cartographer, whose motto this truly was, and by a number of prefaces. Another edition of the same work, published in Latin in 1609, is much the same, save for a different wording of the title and its uncolored maps.

Still more splendid was the two-volume edition of Mercator's great atlas published by Henry Hondius at Amsterdam in 1633. Above the central architectural design of the title-page kneels the figure of Atlas, bearing on his shoulder the astronomers' model of the planetary system. On either side stand two cosmographers with their compasses and globes, dictating their findings to amanuenses. The center of the page, underneath the arches, is crowded with figures representing the different races of the earth—the Dutch burgher in heavy boots, the Turk with his turban and scimiter, and the naked savage. After the prefatory addresses with which the folio is amply supplied, there is another finely engraved double page showing Mercator and Hondius himself seated at a table with their globes and compasses before them. Against the wall behind them stands a bookcase filled with heavy folios, over which hang large wall-maps. The maps themselves of Mercator's atlas are fine specimens of engraving. First the complete maps of the world and the different continents are printed. The peculiar contour of some of the continents and certain inaccuracies in the marking of boundary lines need cause no difficulty for anyone comfortably unacquainted with modern geography. Then come maps of different countries and localities in Europe. On the maps, or at least many

of them, pictures indicate the dress of the inhabitants of the different lands and the fauna and flora peculiar to them. History and legend and folk-lore thus unite their interest with geography.

The quaintest explanation of maps like these is given by kindly Tom Fuller at the end of the first book of his *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*. He comments first on his scale of miles, without which, he says, "the liveliest draught of a Countrey is no regulated Map, but a paper full of names of places." He then explains the trouble he has been put to in determining the distances between places. "Miles vary in length, not only in different countries but in England itself"; for "every London-Lady when weary with walking, concludes the space though never so short to be a mile." The best he could do, when his authorities differed, was to "umpire," as he calls it, or split the difference. Hence he did not claim for his maps the "exactness of those left-handed Gibeonites to hit the mark at an haire-breadth and not misse." Fuller also begged the reader not to apply the scale of miles to what he calls the "history pictures," meaning the pictures of men and animals with which his maps are adorned, "for then some men would appear Giants, yea monsters, many miles long." And if inconsistencies appear in his maps, he begged again to be excused, "were it but for the shaking of his weary hand in so tedious a work." Lastly, Fuller explained his use of symbols; cities that were royal seats were marked with coronets, cities placed only conjecturally were designated by flags, and those places mentioned in the Apocrypha alone were indicated by crescents.

The professional cartographers, Ortelius and Mercator, offered their work less quaintly to the public. But even in Ortelius the fancy of the old map-maker often ran wild, as it did, for example, on the map of Island. Sea-horses prance from the waves ("equus marinus, inbatus in moren equorum nocet piscatoribus"), and out of the sea come all sorts of strange monsters with terrible tusks and jaws. In the same spirit the map of Russia, which Milton must have studied, is filled in its empty spaces with tents and camels and Tartar horsemen brandishing their bows and long knives. Above the map the czar himself, Joannes Basilius, sits in his tent holding a sceptre. Again one sees how geography, history, and romance all merge in these old folios. And on other maps, where the voyage of Æneas for example is sketched, the interest of literature is not wanting.

It is plain that Milton studied these standard atlases with his habitual thoroughness. Had he not known the map in Ortelius, or one like it, he never could have marked the island Nysa so exactly.²⁸ The same precision characterizes the reference in *Lycidas* to Namancos. Professor Cook has shown definitively the nature of this allusion to an ecclesiastical district of Spain.²⁹ The name appears prominently on the maps of Galicia in both Ortelius and Mercator, and is found nowhere else where Milton would have been likely to see it. Whether he understood the exact signification of the word can not be determined from the poem; but the name was firmly fixed in his mind.

Later in his life, and indeed some time after he had become totally blind, he wrote to a friend on the Continent concerning the purchase of a new atlas.³⁰ The blind scholar complained of the price, one hundred thirty florins, which he thought sufficient for the purchase of Mount Atlas itself. But he inquired in how many volumes the work was published and whether the edition of Blaeu or of Janson was the better. These men, with Janson's brother-in-law, Henry Hondius, were the most noted cartographers of the Low Countries. Janson, either alone or in conjunction with Hondius, had issued various editions of Mercator's great atlas.³¹ One that appeared in 1633 has already been described, and Milton must have known it, if he did not actually possess it. The Blaeu brothers, also, in 1635 published in Latin, Dutch, and French the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. But neither this nor Mercator's work would have been sought by Milton in 1656. It may be assumed that he considered buying an atlas then comparatively new, and he speaks as though the works of the two publishers were much the same. Now in 1638-1640 Blaeu issued in three volumes *Le théâtre du monde, ou nouvel atlas contenant les chartes et descriptions de tous les païs de la terre*. At the same time Janson put out in three volumes his *Nouveau théâtre du monde ou nouvel atlas, comprenant les tables et descriptions de toutes les régions de la terre*. Possibly Milton had in mind one of these books when he sent his request to Peter Heimbach. The new atlas would have

²⁸ See above, p. 164.

²⁹ *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Jan. 1907.

✓ ³⁰ *Familiar Letters*, 20. 1656.

³¹ See *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress*, 3, pp. 130, 138.

come too late to contribute much to the forming of his mind. But it may have refreshed his memory as he worked on his epic, and his desire to possess it at all proves that affliction had not destroyed one of his life-long intellectual interests.

So it happens that Milton's poems, especially the epics, are filled with geographical allusions. Many of them show merely a knowledge of fact. For example, he fixed the setting of the sun "beyond the Earth's green Cape and verdant Isles."³² Of Cape Verde Purchas had written: "The sea seemeth as a greene field, so thicke that a man cannot see the water, and hindreth the shippes passage, except they haue a strong winde." In the same spirit Milton referred to the Moluccan islands, Ternate and Tidore, "whence merchants bring their spicie drugs." It is probable that the islands were generally known for their export of spices, for, according to Purchas, "none of these Ilands is aboue sixe leagues in compasse, enriched with cloues, but of other fruits barren and poore." And, if the poet verged on error in naming only two of the group of islands, he may claim the authority of Hakluyt, who had written: "The Cloues come all from the Moluccas, which Moluccas are two Islands, not very great, and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawrell tree."³³

Many such passages in Milton's poems, however, are more picturesque than these and possess even some narrative interest. He remembered Heylyn's statement that China is "for the most part very plaine, insomuch that they haue Coaches and Carts driven ordinarily with sailes."³⁴ Still more vividly Milton recalled the story of the seamen who, thinking that they had found an island, anchored their barks in the darkness on the backs of sleeping whales. This story is to be found in two books to which the student of the poems has often cause to turn. Ariosto incorporated it in the *Orlando Furioso* in this form:

Veggiamo una balena, la maggiore
Que mai per tutto il mar veduta fosse:
Undeci passi e più dimostra fuore
De l'onde salse le spallaccie grosse.
Caschiamo tutti insieme in uno errore:

³² P. L., 8, l. 631. Cf. Purchas, 3'd ed. p. 887.

³³ P. L., 2, l. 639. Purchas, p. 689. Hakluyt, 2, p. 242.

³⁴ *Microcosmos*, p. 680.

Perch' era ferma e che mai non si scosse,
Ch' ella sia una isoletta ci credemo;
Così distante ha l' un da l' altro estremo.

The same mistake is described again by Hakluyt, who, like Milton, assigns the legend to a northern sea. Swift as well as Milton remembered this incident from the *Voyages*: "There be seene sometimes neere unto Island huge Wales like unto mountains, which overturne ships, unlesse they be terrified away with the sound of trumpets, or beguiled with round and emptie vessels, which they delight to tosse up and downe. It sometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking these Wales to be Ilands, and casting out ankers upon their backs, are often in danger of drowning." To these two versions of the story Todd added a third, from Olaus Magnus, who in the section *De Anchoris Dorso ceto Imposito* recounts the incident thus: "Habet etiam cetus super corium suum superficiem tanquam fabulum quod est juxta littus maris: unde plerunque, elevato dorso suo super undas, à navigantibus nihil aliud creditur esse quàm insula. Itaque nautæ ad eum appellant: et super eum descendunt, inque ipsum palos figunt, naves alligant."³⁵ The poet would have been much more apt to learn this story in either Ariosto or Hakluyt than in the much rarer work of Olaus Magnus; but it would be unsafe to say that he had not seen it there. Evidently, however, a common seaman's legend had aroused his interest and prompted this comparison in *Paradise Lost*:

Him, haply slumbering on the Norway foam,
The pilot of some small night-foundered akiff,
Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,
With fixed anchor in his scaly rind,
Moors by his side under the lea, while night
Invests the sea, and wished morn delays.³⁶

Often it was some interesting story like this which fixed a place in Milton's mind. Other geographical names were remembered for their historical importance, and a few, possibly, for the euphony of their names. But in geography, as in history and pedagogy, Milton's reading was broad and his memory retentive. He knew

³⁵ These references are found in Todd's edition, *P. L.*, 2, ll. 203-208. See *Orlando Furioso*, 6, st. 37; Hakluyt, *Voyages*, 1, p. 568.

³⁶ *P. L.*, 1, ll. 203-208.

the old geographers thoroughly, and the new as well, and handled his knowledge with perfect surety and ease.

Closely connected with Milton's general interest in geography was his belief in the influence of climate on human character. The idea was by no means his own. In the *Politics* Aristotle, for example, had taught that "those who live in a cold climate and in [northern] Europe are full of spirit, but wanting in intelligence and skill; and therefore they keep their freedom, but have no political organization, and are incapable of ruling over others. Whereas the natives of Asia are intelligent and inventive, but they are wanting in spirit, and therefore they are always in a state of slavery."³⁷ Between the two extremes the Hellenic race stands, "high-spirited and also intelligent." Aristotle explained the phenomenon in this way.³⁸ Cold hardens the animal frame and renders it dry and earthy, and animals in whom the earthy element predominates are spirited in character. In the south, where the blood is watery, human character is more subtle; for men there are timid, and timid natures are prone to investigate and so possess superior intelligence.

Hippocrates, also, in his treatise on *Airs, Waters, and Places* comments on the influence of climate.³⁹ An equable climate such as the Asiatics enjoy is productive of physical growth and mildness of temperament. A changeable climate, on the contrary, rouses the understanding and prevents torpor. Europeans, therefore, are ready to undergo hardship and face danger.

Whimsical as these ideas seem, they reappear in Milton's prose and verse. Englishmen seemed to him "valiant indeed, and prosperous to win a field," but "unjudicious and unwise" in affairs of peace, and he suggested that, since England lacked the warm sun that "ripens wits as well as fruits," his countrymen would have to acquire the "civil virtues" in southern lands.⁴⁰ This is exactly in accord with the statement of the *Politics*. Less nakedly the idea crept into *Paradise Lost*, in the passage that promised a higher theme than other epics had dealt with,

Unless an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years, damp my intended wing
Deprest.^a

³⁷ Bk. 7, c. 7. Trans. H. W. C. Davis.

³⁸ See Newman's notes, 3. pp. 363-364.

³⁹ Sections 12-23.

⁴⁰ *Hist. Brit.*, 5, p. 240.

^a *P. L.*, 9, ll. 44-46.

Such outspoken distrust of the intellectual powers of northern peoples now seems nothing short of fantastic. The idea, however, serves to remind us that in all his scientific theories Milton stood between the old era and the new. As a poet he lived above the world of transient fact, on the high table-lands where the creative energy of poets and philosophers assumes its most permanent form. But no body of fact can ever attain this permanence. For his astronomical theories Milton looked backward to the teaching of the middle ages, which for its poetical associations could not be discarded, and forward to the principles of modern times, which were then just gaining credence. His ideas on education, likewise, were a compound of the oldest and the latest. And as a geographer he occupied the same transitional position. The old knowledge of the earth's surface was not yet totally supplanted; but it was being corrected by more careful observation and constantly augmented by restless and intelligent explorations. Accordingly, Milton could still use Pomponius Mela's little description of the world and at the same time accept all that modern travelers and cartographers had to teach. But why should the reader concern himself closely with these matters of dull fact, some one may ask? It is possible, indeed, to read the epics without any close scrutiny of their geographical content. Even when they are read in that way, the allusions lend to the poems the euphony, the rich coloring, and the sense of vastness that the epic should have. But a closer study amply repays the reader. Such an investigation shows how Milton could sublimate the barest fact into material for the poet's art. To trace his knowledge of geography is really to enter into one of the mental storehouses of the day. Milton lived just at the close of England's highest creative effort. In political life, in material progress, and in literature this creative energy had reached its culmination. Milton's interest in geography is simply the gathering together of all that the great Elizabethans had learned and dreamed of the earth that was their inheritance.

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THE CAMBRIDGE MANUSCRIPT AND MILTON'S PLANS FOR AN EPIC

BY ALLAN H. GILBERT

The common interpretation ¹ of Milton's plans for a great poem is that while in Italy and immediately after his return ² he contemplated an epic on King Arthur, but that he soon gave up this intention, and turned to the dramatic form. This opinion is based chiefly on the Cambridge Manuscript, where, in seven pages of notes, Milton has recorded many subjects for dramas on historical and Biblical themes. Some of these are developed into outlines; chief among them are several sketches for dramas on the subject later chosen for *Paradise Lost*. The date usually assigned to these notes is 1641-2, or thereabouts. Not long after this date, according to Edward Phillips,³ part of *Paradise Lost*, in dramatic form, had already been written. The single reference to 'a heroical poem' in the seven pages emphasizes the poet's preoccupation with the drama. The subject of *Samson Agonistes* does not appear, though there are subjects from the life of Samson, and that drama is the sort of work Milton had in mind when he set down his various subjects and outlines. According to the common belief, when he came actually to compose *Paradise Lost*, his preference had swung from the tragedy back to the epic, carrying with it one of the subjects he had proposed for a tragedy.

To me this interpretation, with its assumption that Milton fluctuated from one sort of poem to another, seems improbable.

The Cambridge Manuscript does not furnish conclusive evidence. It is not a single complete volume handed down by Milton, but was accidentally preserved, and is in part a collection of scattered papers.⁴ The inscription of Thomas Clarke, who supplied the

¹ Masson, *Life of Milton* 2. 104. Verity, *Paradise Lost*, p. xxxiii.

² *Manus* 78-84; *Epitaphium Damonis* 162-8.

³ *Life of Milton*, p. lxxv (in *Of Education*, etc., by John Milton, Riverside ed.). Cf. Aubrey's account, p. xlii (ib.).

⁴ Verity (*op. cit.* p. xxxiv) states: "It exists . . . exactly in the same form as that wherein Milton knew and used it." This is too strong; Masson (*op. cit.*, pp. 103, 121 note) is less positive. Sotheby (*Ramblings in the*

volume with its present binding, runs as follows: "Membra haec Eruditissimi et paene Divini Poetae olim miserè disjecta et passim sparsa, postea verò fortuitò Inventa et in unum denuò collecta a Carolo Mason" etc.* And however successful Charles Mason may have been in restoring the leaves to their original places, the latter part of the volume shows traces of confusion. Two leaves (pp. 45, 46 and 49, 50) are unlike the others in size, and were apparently inserted. The poems on pages 45 and 46, all in the hand of an amanuensis, appear elsewhere in the volume, in Milton's own hand, and the first quatrain of the first sonnet on page 49 is missing; a page with the beginning of this sonnet must at some time have preceded 49, yet 49 is numbered consecutively with the rest of the volume. In fact, all of the numbering after page 41 seems to be not in the hand of Milton. The 4's in the body of the work are made as is usual in printing, with closed, pointed tops, while those in the pages following 41⁶ are of a different sort, and perhaps were the work of Mason, when he collected the "disjecta et passim sparsa" sheets. It is plain, then, that even though pages 1-42 are a properly arranged unit, the Cambridge Manuscript is nothing more than a fortunate survival of a part of Milton's papers, just as the Commonplace Book which has come down to us seems not to have been the only one Milton used.⁷ It is altogether likely that such a man as Milton would have a considerable accumulation of more or less valuable manuscripts, and among the papers which have not been preserved to us there may have been a list of subjects and plans for heroic poems similar to the plans for tragedies in the Cambridge Manuscript.

Moreover, the thought of writing a heroic poem was not one that came to Milton during his journey in Italy, but had been in his

Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton, p. 95) states that the paper, except that of two inserted leaves (pp. 45, 46 and 49, 50) is of the same kind and infers that, with these exceptions, 'the volume was formed when commenced.'

* Wright, *Facsimile of the Manuscript of Milton's Minor Poems*, p. 2.

⁶ The 4 with the pointed top is plain in the number of page 40 as reproduced by Sotheby (*op. cit.*, plate 7). The corner containing this number, and in fact almost all the corners containing even numbers, seem to have disappeared by the time Mr. Wright's facsimiles were made.

⁷ Horwood, *A Common-place Book of John Milton* (Camden Society), pp. viii, ix.

mind for years. In his poem *At a Vacation Exercise* he expresses a longing to deal with epic themes, and similar, though less striking passages, occur in his *Fifth*⁸ and *Sixth Elegies*.⁹ It is characteristic of Milton that his ambitions should be so early directed to the work he accomplished in old age, and it is improbable that, with his tenacity of purpose, he ever abandoned his plan for writing an epic. The existence of *Samson Agonistes*, written late in his life, yet a drama of the sort he was contemplating when he made the notes in the Cambridge Manuscript, shows that he held tenaciously to his plan for the composition of a drama. If this purpose was so firm as to survive his labors on *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, his desire to write an epic may well have been equally constant throughout his life.

It is especially unlikely that, after the plans for a heroic poem so plainly announced during and after his journey to Italy, Milton should have abandoned that form. The influence Italy exerted on him was not transient, and his sojourn in that country seems to have influenced him to prefer the epic form. Tasso and Ariosto were brought especially to his notice; his Neapolitan host Manso had been a friend of Tasso. Milton esteemed these two poets as he did Homer and Virgil, but he does not name any Italian writer of tragedy in the same breath with the great Greeks. The literary discussions of Italy would also influence him to consider the narrative poem rather more than the tragedy. The echoes of Tasso's great conflict over the form of his poem were still ringing when Milton was in Italy, and Milton had read part, at least, of Tasso's revision of the *Jerusalem Delivered*.¹⁰ Tasso is one of the three Italian commentators on Aristotle whom Milton, in 1644, recommended in his tractate *Of Education*. At least it is plain that while in Italy and immediately after his return Milton wrote of himself as meditating subjects fitted for narrative poetry, and did not speak of tragedy. Having committed himself to this plan for heroic verse, he was not likely to give it up within a year or two.

But in addition to these probabilities, we have evidence that Milton was seriously considering the epic form at the time when he is commonly supposed to have abandoned it for the tragic. In

⁸ Ll. 15-20.⁹ Ll. 55-76.¹⁰ See the heading of Milton's *Mansus*.

The Reason of Church Government, published early in 1642, we read:

Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home in the spacious circuits of her musing hath liberty to propose to herself, though of the highest hope and hardest attempting, whether that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model; or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art and use judgment is no transgression, but an enriching of art. And lastly what king or knight before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero. And as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemagne against the Lombards, if to the instinct of nature and the imboldening of art ought may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness from an equal diligence and inclination to present the like offer in our own ancient stories. Or whether those dramatic constitutions wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation. The Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges. And the Apocalypse of Saint John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies; and this my opinion the grave authority of Pareus commenting that book is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead to imitate those magnific odes and hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable.²²

It is to be seen that Milton represents himself as considering various kinds of poetry, and that he puts epic—with Arthur or some similar hero as its chief character—at the head, and gives it the greatest space, though drama comes next. Though he did not, so far as we know, compose any 'magnific odes and hymns' more mature than the ode *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, this passage forecasts much of his accomplishment. *Paradise Lost* is the diffuse, and *Paradise Regained* the brief epic; the drama is *Samson Agonistes*. The passage is so suggestive of the plans in the Cambridge Manuscript as probably to have been written with them in

²² Book 2, Preface.

mind. For example, in addition to what is immediately obvious, he indicates in the Manuscript as suitable for pastoral drama the subject of *The Sheep-shearers in Carmel*, taken from I Samuel 25. Hence, taking into account the passage quoted, and the subjects mentioned in *Mansus* and in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, it seems reasonable to assume that Milton had among his papers schemes for heroic poems as well as for dramas. These plans at first probably dealt only with Arthurian and related subjects; yet Biblical themes, and even *Paradise Lost* itself, may have been added sooner than we are likely to suppose, though it is possible that Milton did not for some years discover that this, the apparent favorite among his dramatic subjects, was better suited to his epic genius than a legend from British history. However, one may feel that the Argument prefixed to the books of *Paradise Lost* is sufficiently like the outlines in the Cambridge Manuscript originally to have been, in a form somewhat more crude than that in which it now exists, one of Milton's hypothetical outlines for an epic. He may also have written outlines for lyric poems.

The notes in the Cambridge Manuscript represent, then, an important part, but only a part, of Milton's activity during a few years following his return from Italy; and he is to be imagined not as rejecting the epic in favor of the tragedy, but as always having in mind both forms, and suitable subjects for them, yet as tending to give the predominance to themes fitted for 'heroic verse.'

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FOUR NOTES

BY ALBERT STANBUBROUGH COOK

I

Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 146

The theme of Shakespeare's *Sonnet* 146 manifestly reposes upon the contrast between the body and the soul, the perishableness of the one and the immortality of the other. To bedizen and pamper the body is to starve the soul; the soul should therefore insist on ignoring the body's extravagant demands. Shakespeare may well have had in mind the words of Paul (1 Cor. 9. 27): "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection"; of Peter (1 Pet. 3. 3): "Whose adornment let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel, but let it be the hidden man of the heart"; and again of Paul (Rom. 13. 13-4): "Let us walk, . . . not in rioting and drunkenness; . . . but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof"; (2 Cor. 4. 16): "Though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day."

Thus regarded, the sonnet as a whole is clear enough; but the steady course of the argument is somewhat broken by the second line, which is not only hypermetric, but can not be cured by the mere omission of the three words repeated from the preceding line, and is further clouded by the word "array," which, on its face, seems to prelude the lines immediately following, and yet is connected with "rebell powres" in such a way as to suggest a meaning quite incompatible with this theory. But here it will be necessary to examine in detail the text of the Quarto of 1609, as reproduced in Alden's fine variorum edition of the sonnets (Boston, 1916):

Poore soule the center of my sinfull earth,
My sinfull earth these rebell powres that thee array,
Why dost thou pine within and suffer dearth
Painting thy outward walls so costlie gay?
Why so large cost hauing so short a lease,

Dost thou vpon thy fading mansion spend?
 Shall wormes inheritors of this excesse
 Eate vp thy charge? is this thy bodie end?
 Then soule liue thou vpon thy seruants losse,
 And let that pine to aggrauat thy store;
 Buy tearmes diuine in selling houres of drosse:
 Within be fed, without be rich no more,
 So shalt thou feed on death, that feeds on men,
 And death once dead, ther's no more dying then.

The difficulties of the second line will be indicated by Alden's textual note on its first four words:

Fool'd by those M, A, Co, B, Hu¹, Kly; *Fool'd by these* Kt, Del, Dy, Sta. Cl, Wh¹, Hal, Ox: *Starv'd by the Stee* conj.; *Starv'd by these* But; *Thrall to these* Kinnear conj., N, Wa; *Slave of these* Cartwright; *Leagued with these* Brae conj., Hu²; *Foild by these* Palgrave conj., Massey conj.; *Hemm'd with these* Furnivall conj.; *Press'd by these* Do, R; *Why feed'et these* Ty; *Sport of these* Sharp; *Lord of these* Her conj.; *Feeding these* Sebastian Evans conj.; *Spoil'd by these* Spence conj.; *Vew'd by these* Ruahton conj.; *My sins those* Bulloch conj.; *Sinful thro'* Nicholson conj.; . . . *these* Gl, Cam, Wh², Her, Be.

These difficulties are bound up with the interpretation of "rebell powres," a phrase which may be read in the light of line 9; the soul is exhorted to live at the expense of its ruffling and greedy servant, and, rather than pine (l. 3), to let it pine (l. 10), instead of indulging the body in the way which Spenser describes (*F. Q. 2. 1. 57*):

Behold the ymage of mortalitie,
 And feeble nature cloth'd with fleshly tyre,
 When raging passion with fierce tyranny
 Robs reason of her dew regallitie,
 And makes it seruaunt to her basest part.¹

Similarly Shakespeare has (*Sonn.* 151. 5-8):

I do betray
 My nobler part to my gross body's treason;
 My soul doth tell my body that he may
 Triumph in love.

On this point Shakespeare is as imperative as Petrarch, who, writing to his brother in 1348, thus adjures him (*Fam.* 10. 3)²:

¹ Cf. *F. Q. 2. 4. 7. 7*; *2. 6.40. 4*; *2. 9. 1. 1-6*; *3. 5. 44. 2*; *3. 7. 21. 5*; *6. 4. 11. 9*; *6. 6. 5. 8*; *Col.* 867-8.

² Ed. Fracassetti 2. 81; tr. Fracassetti 2. 474.

Tu vero, ut finem faciam, vitam omnem inter contemplationem ac psalmodiam et orationem lectionemque partire. Corpori tuo, tamquam rebellaturo, si possit, et contumaci mancipio nihil tribuas, nisi quod negare non potes; in vinculis habe; serviliter tractari debet, ut intelligat unde sit.

In its tenor, and even in some of its phrases, we have here a passage almost close enough to have served as an original for Shakespeare. But as this borrowing is improbable, we shall need to go no further than the epistles of Paul; thus (Rom. 7. 23): "But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members"; (Gal. 5. 17): "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other." Here we have the members of the body warring against the mind, as Spenser contrasts passion with reason. We see, then, with sufficient clearness what Shakespeare meant by "rebell powres." They are, in the language of Professor George Herbert Palmer, "the changing, conflicting, enslaving passions."³

As indicated above, the "array" of the second line has troubled the commentators. Of its various senses in the Elizabethan period, the chief are (1) marshal for battle, (2) clothe, attire, (3) trouble, afflict. In support of (2), Verity, for example, says: "The body is the vesture which encloses the soul." As against those who would extend (3) to mean "hem in like a besieging army," Alden objects: "No evidence is given for the meaning 'beleaguer' or 'besiege.'" In default of the appropriate meaning for *array*, Miss L. I. Guiney proposed, in 1911,⁴ to read *warray*, "apparently not knowing of its having been long since proposed by Sebastian Evans" (Alden). After citing the *Faery Queen* (1. 5. 432) and *Selinus*, Miss Guiney adds: "That a soul can be fooled, or foiled, or hurt, or pierced, or maimed by rebel powers *warraying* her, is eminently intelligible, and is built on a magnificent metaphor. The very sound of 'warray' would recommend it to the Shakespearean sense of beauty and fitness."

This emendation of Miss Guiney's (when and where had Sebastian Evans proposed it?) seems to me fairly self-evident. Shakespeare had no doubt read the word in Chaucer, for it occurs in *Troilus and Criseyde* (5. 584), a source of *Troilus and Cressida*; in

³ *Intimations of Immortality in the Sonnets of Shakspeare*, p. 48.

⁴ *Notes and Queries* 11. 4. 85.

the *Knight's Tale* (685-6), whence Shakespeare and Fletcher (Lee, *Life of William Shakespeare*, new ed., pp. 439-441; *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 24.782) derived the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, and Shakespeare suggestions for the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. In both these cases (Chaucer has it at least nine times), it means "war against." From 1590 Shakespeare might also have found it (five times in all) in the first three books of the *Faery Queen*. But a more notable instance, and one which I can not help thinking Shakespeare had in mind, occurs in the 44th sonnet of the *Amoretti*. This sonnet has so much in common with the one we are discussing that detailed discussion of parallels is almost superfluous (the more striking correspondences will be suggested by the underscored passages):

When those renowned noble Peres of Greece,
Through stubborn pride, amongst themselves did jar,
Forgetfull of the famous golden fleece;
Then Orpheus with his harp theyr strife did bar.¹
*But this contiually, oruell, ciuill warre,**
The whiche my selfe against my selfe doe make;
Whilest my weak powres of passions warreid arre;
No skill can stint, nor reason can aslake.
But, when in hand my tunelesse harp I take,
Then doe I more augment my foes despight;
And grieke renew, and *passions doe awake*
To battaile, fresh against my selfe to fight.
Mongst whome the more I seeke to settle peace,
The more I fynd their malice to increase.

Here, in the seventh line, is not only our verb "warray," but also the "powres"—though in a different sense—which Shakespeare employs in conjunction with it. Spenser's sonnet was written 1592-4, and published 1595; and, according to most commentators, this would have been early enough to admit of Shakespeare's having used it for his purpose.²

¹ Similarly *F. Q.* 4. 1. 23. 6-9; 4. 2. 1. 7-9; cf. Apollonius Rhodius 1. 456 ff.

² Cf. Shakespeare, *Sonn.* 35. 12:

Such civil war is in my love and hate.

³ Alden says (p. 451): "Evidence for an early date for at least a certain number of the Sonnets seems to preponderate; but this need not be applied to the whole collection." See his table of conjectural dates by various editors on pp. 451-2 (Beeching's, 1597-1603; Lee's, 1594-1603; Rolfe's, 1597—; Dowden's, 1592-1605, etc.). Even if we assume that Spenser's

The following notes touch upon particular points which have happened to interest me.

2. At the beginning of the line, I would emend with Herford, "Lord of these"; this lordship is implied in "rebell," and again in 9-14.

With the thought cf. *Julius Cæsar* 2. 1. 67-9:

The state of man,
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection.

Dowden quotes *Lucrece* 722-6:

She says, her subjects with foul insurrection
Have battered down her consecrated wall.

To this might be added *Lucrece* 1170-2:

Her house is sack'd, her quiet interrupted,
Her mansion battered by the enemy;
Her sacred temple spotted, spoil'd, corrupted.

4. Alden says: "Sarrazin finds here evidence that Sh. had been in Italy, as the practice of painting the exterior of buildings was unknown in England." But Spenser describes a palace built of brick (*F. Q.* 1. 4. 5):

And all the hinder partes, that few could spie,
Were ruinous and old, but painted cunningly.

The latter may also have been in Shakespeare's mind when he wrote *Rich. II* (1595-6) 1. 1. 178-9:

That away,
Men are but gilded loam or painted clay.

6. *Mansion*. Cf. *Sonn.* 95. 9-10:

O, what a *mansion* have those vices got
Which for their habitation chose out thee!

Add *F. Q.* 6. 3. 28. 1-3:

So well he did his busie paines apply,
That the faint sprite he did revoke againe
To her fraile *mansion* of mortality.

sonnet was not yet published, Shakespeare might have seen it in manuscript; for Spenser's allusion to Shakespeare about that time, see *Col.* 444-7, and for Shakespeare's to Spenser, see *M. N. D.* (probably 1595) 5. 1. 52-3 (cf. Lee, *Life of W. S.*, new ed., pp. 150-1.)

And see *Lucrece* 1171, above.

10. *pine*. Walsh, in his edition of 1908 (quoted by Alden, p. 356), cites *L. L. L.* 1. 1. 125:

The mind shall banquet, though the body pine.

Cf. *F. Q.* 1. 10. 48. 8-9:

His mind was full of spiritual repast,
And pyn'd his flesh to keepe his body low and chast.

11. Cf. *F. Q.* 1. 9. 40. 6:

Is not short payne well borne, that bringes long ease?

Add *Amor.* 63. 14:

All sorrowes short that gaine eternall blisse.

diuine. Somewhat as in *Rich. II* 1. 1. 37-8:

My body shall make good upon this earth,
Or my *diuine* soul answer it in heaven;

where the adjective shades from the sense, "partaking of the nature of God," into that of "immortal."

drosse. The meaning of the word corresponds well to that of the Greek *σκύβαλον*, "refuse, offscouring, screenings, rubbish,"^s as found, for example, in *Phil.* 3. 8. (R. V.): "Yea verily, and I count

^s The two translations of *σκύβαλον*, that of the A. V. and the R. V., are associated in Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victory* 1. 17 (ed. Boas, p. 22):

Dread Lord of Spirits, well thou did'st devise
To fling the world's rude *dunghill*, and the *drosse*
Of the ould Chaos, farthest from the skies.

And again in 3.26 (p. 64):

And Man his God, for thirtie pence hath sold.
So tinne for silver goes, and *dunghill drosse* for gold.

In the sense of "refuse, worthless matter," *drosse* is used by Shakespeare, *King John* 3. 1. 165; *M. V.* 2. 7. 2, etc.; cf. *drossy*, *Hml.* 5. 2. 197. Spenser frequently has the word. Thus *H. L.* 183-4:

His *dunghill* thoughts, which do themselves enure
To dirtie *drosse*, no higher dare aspyre.

cf. *H. B. B.* 279; *H. H. L.* 276; *Time* 687; *Amor.* 27, 2, etc.; cf. *drossy*, *Amor.* 13. 12. Milton also employs it. Thus, *P. R.* 3. 29:

All treasures and all gain esteem as *drosse*.

Cf. *Time* 6.

all things to be loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord; for whom I suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but *refuse*, that I may gain Christ, . . . (v. 11) if by any means I may attain unto the resurrection from the dead." Here we have not only the word *loss* (twice), but conceptions closely akin to those expressed by Shakespeare: "I [my body, my servant] suffered the loss, . . . that I [my soul] might attain unto the resurrection [eternal life, 'tearmes divine']." If this passage indeed underlies Shakespeare's lines, it is easy to see how "loss," as a rhyming word, would be conveniently answered by "dross," in the sense of "refuse" (A. V. "dung"), though at the expense of a somewhat forced phrase, "houres of drosse," where "houres" (= brief time) is antithetical to "tearmes diuine" (the years of God, as it were: cf. Job 10. 5; 36. 26; Ps. 77. 10; 102. 24. 27; Hab. 1. 12; 2 Pet. 3. 8).

13-4. Cf. 1 Cor. 15. 54 (from Isa. 28. 8): "Death is swallowed up in victory"; 2 Cor. 5. 4: "That mortality might be swallowed up of life"; Heb. 2. 14: "That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death." The precise thought has been well expressed by Beeching: "By withdrawing food from what dies, and so diminishing the diet of death, we are said to 'feed on death.'"

II

Shakespeare's "yellow sands"

What precedent had Shakespeare (*Temp.* 1. 2. 376; *M. N. D.* 2. 1. 126) for calling sands yellow? Ultimately, no doubt, a Latin one. Thus Virgil, *Aen.* 7. 30-2:

Hunc inter fluvio Tiberinus amœno
Verticibus rapidis et multa *flavus* harena
In mare prorumpit.

Thus translated by Williams:

When Tiber's smiling stream,
Its trembling current rich with *yellow sands*,
Burst seaward forth.

Similarly Ovid, *Met.* 14. 448.

Aen. 5. 374; 6. 643; 12. 741; *Georg.* 3. 110 have *fulvus*, instead of *flavus*; and so Ovid, *Met.* 2. 865; 9. 36; 10. 716, none of these referring to the seashore. *Met.* 10. 713-6,

Protinus excussit pando venabula rostro
 Sanguine tincta suo, trepidumque et tuta petentem
 Trux aper insequitur, totosque sub inguine dentes
 Abdidit, et fulva moribundum stravit harena,

not only underlies *Venus and Adonis* 661 ff., 1052 ff., but may possibly have suggested *Henry V* 3. 6. 170-1:

We shall your *tawny* ground with your red blood
 Discolour.

Conington, criticizing the *fulva* of *Aen.* 5. 374, remarks of the Ovidian passage that "there is some force in the epithet as used by a lively colorist," suggesting as it does a contrast with the white flesh and the red blood.

As a proximate source of the passage in the *Tempest*, Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (1. 346-7) has been suggested:

Where all is whist and still,
 Save that the sea, playing on *yellow sand*, etc.

Among later poets who have thus employed *yellow* and *tawny* are Wordsworth, *Peter Bell* 61 (cf. *Evening Walk* 187, "tawny earth"):

Yon *tawny* slip is Libya's *sands*;

Shelley, *Rosalind and Helen* 783:

O'er the *yellow sands* with silver feet;

and Tennyson, *Lotus-Eaters* 37:

They sat them down upon the *yellow sand*;

cf. *Enoch Arden* 2; *Lover's Tale* 1. 535; *Voyage of Maeldune* 57 ("tawny sands").

III

Milton, *Lycidas* 86

Jerram, in 1874, refers the "smooth-sliding" and the "vocal reeds" of this line to Virgil, *Georg.* 3. 14:

tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
 Mincius, et tenera prætexit harundine ripas.

But here is no "smooth-sliding," and no "crowned," nor is there in *Ecl.* 7. 12, which repeats the last four words. *Aen.* 10. 205

describes Mincius as "velatus harundine glauca." "Smooth-sliding" had already occurred in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, as Jerram also saw (cf. *N. E. D. s. v.*), but it is a question of its ultimate source. For this I think we must look to Ovid. Thus, *Am.* 3. 6. 81-2:

Supposuisse manus ad pectora *lubricus amnis*
Dicitur.

Cf. *Am.* 1. 8. 50:

Ut celer admissis *labitur amnis* aquia.

The first of these poems begins thus:

Amnis, arundinibus limosas obsita ripas,

which perhaps confirms the view that Milton had it in mind. For "crowns" we must seek another passage in Ovid, *Met.* 5. 388:

Silva coronat aquas, cingens latus omne.

Cf. *Met.* 9. 335. This sense of *crown* does not distinctly appear in *N. E. D.*, but an example occurs in Drayton, *Polyol.* 21. 108:

Whose fountain Ashwell *crown'd* with many an upright plant.

As for "vocal reeds," Jerram refers to Lucretius 5. 1382-3:

Et zephyri, cava per calamorum, sibila primum
Agrestis docuere cavas inflare cicutas.

IV

Padelford (*Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, p. 34) prints these lines:

The swift swallow pursueth the flies smale;
The busy bee her honye now she minges.

This sonnet, as is well known, reposes upon Petrarch, *Son. in Morte* 42 (Carducci and Ferrari, *Rime*, No. 310), but, as Padelford remarks (p. lv), Surrey "expands Petrarch's eight verses of nature description to twelve," among the former being no hint of the lines quoted above. They are adapted, of course, from Chaucer, *P. F.* 353-4, which Surrey might have read thus in Thynne's edition (1532):

The swalowe murdrer of the flyes smale
That maken hony of floures fresahe of hewe.

Surrey refers to Chaucer in one of his poems on the death of Wyatt
(Aldine ed., p. 60) :

That reft Chaucer the glory of his wit.

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PLAYWRIGHTS' BENEFITS, AND "INTERIOR GATHERING" IN THE ELIZABETHAN THEATRE

BY ALWIN THALER

It is the purpose of this article to review and to supplement the findings of Mr. W. J. Lawrence on two interesting but much neglected details of Elizabethan theatrical management—playwrights' benefits, and methods of collection in the playhouses. Some time ago Lawrence stated that the proceeds of poets' benefits were "the chief source of emolument" of Elizabethan playwrights.¹ He did not, however, discuss in any detail the evidence which led him to this conclusion, nor the development of the interesting custom which, from Shakspeare's time through the eighteenth century, brought the playwrights the profits of a benefit—usually the second or third performance of a new play—over and above the flat purchase price allowed for their work in the early days, or in addition to the "poet's wages" or "annual stipends"² they drew shortly before the close of the theatres in 1642 and after the Restoration.³

Jonson told Drummond in 1619 that all his plays had not brought him so much as 200 li.⁴ Since he had written a dozen plays at this time and had collaborated in four others, it would appear that his plays brought him an average fee of only about 12 li. each. I have shown elsewhere⁵ that Henslowe's entries and the corroborative evidence afforded by many allusions in other Elizabethan documents, substantially support this figure. Probably even Shakspeare did not average more than 15 li. for the flat purchase price of his plays. It should be noted in passing, moreover, that this figure makes due allowance for the decided advance in prices which resulted from the increasingly keen competition for the services of successful playwrights soon after the death of Queen

¹ *Elizabethan Playhouse*, II, 101.

² See *The Actors Remonstrance*, in Hazlitt's *English Drama and Stage*, p. 264, and compare p. 190, below.

³ See the complaint of the King's Men against Dryden, ca. 1678, in Malone's *Shakspeare*, ed. Boswell, III, 173 ff.

⁴ *Drummond's Conversations With Jonson*, Shakspeare Soc., 1842, pp. 35, 37.

⁵ See Chapter 6 of my MS. dissertation, *Finance and Business Management of the Elizabethan Theatre*, Harvard University, 1918.

Elizabeth. Before this time Drayton, Dekker, Heywood, and other successful "cobblers of poetry called play-patchers"⁶ had rarely drawn more than 6 li. for their plays. This was the sum, for example, that Heywood received for his masterpiece, "his playe called a womon kyld wth. kindness,"⁷ in 1602, and a tradition handed down by Oldys has it that Shakespeare got but 5 li. for *Hamlet* in the same year.⁸

The beginning of the custom of allowing the playwrights certain bonuses or benefits over and above their regular fees, may be traced in Henslowe's accounts. Thus, in November, 1599, Henslowe notes that "Mr. Mundaye & the Reste of the poets at the playnge of Sr. John oldcastell the ferste time" received from the Admiral's Men 10s. "as a gefte."⁹ Thereafter a bonus of exactly this amount was frequently given to the poets after a successful first performance, Dekker, for example, getting his ten shillings "over & above his price" at the first performance of his *Medicine for a Curst Wife* in September, 1602,¹⁰ while Day was similarly remembered in April of the preceding year, when his *Blind Beggar of Bednall Green* was successfully enacted.¹¹

These bonuses probably anticipated the custom of allowing the poet a regular benefit on the second or third presentation of his play—a custom first specifically alluded to in the following passage from the Prologue of Dekker's *If It Be Not Good*:

It is not Praise is sought for (now) but Pence,
Tho dropd from Greasie-apron-audience.
Clapd may he be with Thunder, that plucks Bayes
With such Foule Hands and with Squint-Eyes does gaze
On Pallas Shield, not caring, so he Gaines
A *cramd Third Day*, what Filth drops from his Braines.

Though I cannot agree with Collier¹² and with Professor Thorndike¹³ that this passage necessarily stamps the custom as a novelty

⁶ See Dekker's *Newes From Hell*, Grosart, II, 147.

⁷ *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg. I, 168-9.

⁸ Malone, III, 162-4.

⁹ Drayton, Hathway, Munday, and Wilson collaborated in this play. See H.D., I, 113; II, 206.

¹⁰ H. D., I, 181.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 136.

¹² *Annals*, ed. 1831, III, 424-6.

¹³ *Shakespeare's Theater*, p. 345.

in 1610, when the play was first acted, there are other and better reasons for believing that it was not much older.

D'Avenant, in *The Playhouse to Be Let*, appears to trace it to somewhat earlier times:

There is an old tradition
That in the times of mighty Tamburlaine
Of conjuring Faustus and the Beauchamps bold
You poets used to have a second day. . . .¹⁴

but it is not likely that the Admiral's Men would have paid the bonuses just referred to if the poets had then been entitled to a benefit. Moreover, Henslowe's record of daily receipts between 1592 and 1597 makes it certain that the custom did not prevail at the Henslowe theatres during these years, for there is no noticeable decrease in the receipts at the second or third performance of a new play.¹⁵ And when all due allowance has been made for possible differences in details of administration from theatre to theatre, it remains a safe guess that the rivalry amongst them would not have allowed the practice of one to differ from that of another in a matter of such immediate interest to the playwrights. In view of this evidence, then, and inasmuch as the payment of bonuses continued until 1602 at least, we may be reasonably certain that poets' benefits were not granted until after the accession of King James at the earliest.

It is easy to understand why the beginnings of the custom should have been contemporaneous with the general advance in the flat rates paid for plays.¹⁶ By 1613, at all events, it was well established, for Daborne, in August of that year, writes Henslowe in a matter of fact way that he and Tourneur "will hav but twelv pownds and the overplus of the second day," for their *Bellman of London*.¹⁷ I am obliged to add that I can find no evidence to support Dutton Cook's conjecture that "Daborne and his brother

¹⁴ Act I, Sc. 1.

¹⁵ See, for example, H. D., I, 50. The play of *Valteger* was first performed on December 4, 1596, and Henslowe received 50s. for his share of the takings. The piece was played again on December 8, 16, and 21, and Henslowe collected 35s., 35s., and 25s., respectively. His receipts for the first four performances of *What Will Be Shall Be* (December 31 to January 13, 1596-7) were 50s., 42s., 42s., and 22s., respectively.

¹⁶ See above, p. 188.

¹⁷ *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg. p. 75.

authors disliked the overplus system, while the managers as resolutely favored it."¹⁸ Though it may be true that "to the literary character especially a present payment . . . is always more precious than possible undefined profits in the future,"¹⁹ it is not likely that Daborne and the rest objected to the undefined profits in the future which the new privilege added to their regular fees,—for it is clear that the benefit was an addition to the flat purchase price, not a substitute for it. In any case, after the benefit system had once been introduced, it survived until long after the Restoration.

We hear of it again before the closing of the theatres, in connection with Richard Brome's engagement by the Salisbury Court company in 1635. To that company Brome bound himself for a period of three years. Instead of selling them each play as he finished it, according to the system long prevalent, Brome was under contract to write for the company three plays a year at a salary of 15s. a week, plus the proceeds of a benefit performance of each play.²⁰ At the expiration of his contract, Brome did not renew it, but went to the Cockpit instead. We learn from the Salisbury Court Papers of 1639 that the 20s. a week salary refused by Brome at the close of 1638 went to his successor at the Salisbury Court.²¹ Who this man was does not appear, but he doubtless received also the usual benefits. *The Actors Remonstrance* came out in 1643. That interesting document, in bemoaning the distress of the quality consequent upon the closing of the theatres, has a kind word for the playwrights: "Some of our ablest ordinarie Poets," it notes, "instead of their annual stipends and beneficial second

¹⁸ *A Book of the Play*, p. 269 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ C. E. Andrews, *Richard Brome* (*Yale Studies in English*, XLVI) p. 14, quotes the contract from Professor Wallace's notes. (See also Wallace's *Shakespeare and the Blackfriars*, *Century Magazine*, Sept., 1910). I am inclined to doubt the accuracy of these notes on one point. On the authority of Wallace, Andrews states that Brome had "*the first day's profits as a benefit.*" Every other Elizabethan allusion to such benefits puts them on the *second* or *third* day. It does not seem likely that the company would surrender to the playwright the profits of the first day, with its doubled rates of admission. (For further discussion see Chapter 3 of my dissertation.)

²¹ See P. Cunningham, *Shaksp. Soc. Papers*, 1849.

dayes [are] for meere necessitie compelled to get a living by writing contemptible penny-pamphlets." ²²

It remains to decide what proportion of a playwright's total profits from any one play came to him from his benefit. Lawrence, in holding that the proceeds of such benefits were the Elizabethan playwright's chief source of emolument, could hardly have considered the evidence which indicates that the custom of granting them probably did not come in until after 1602. It is almost certain that even after this date the benefit was not the main part of the poets' income. I have elsewhere called attention to the fact that the benefits allowed to Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, brought him only 8½ li. each during the years 1628 to 1633.²³ The playwrights could hardly have done better, since the shrewd Master of the Revels took good care to see to it that the most popular plays of Shakspeare, Jonson, and Fletcher were acted for his benefits.²⁴ And this inference is supported by other evidence. Among Wallace's unpublished notes on Brome is a document in which the profits of one of that playwright's benefits is "estimated at 5 li. or upwards."²⁵ But we have already seen that in 1613 the regular purchase price of plays was 10 or 12 li. or more. Mr. Lawrence is wrong, therefore, in regarding playwrights' benefits in Shakspeare's time as their chief source of emolument. It is comforting to note that such benefits brought much more substantial returns after the Restoration, for Downes assures us that when *The Squire of Alsatia* was put on in 1688, Shadwell's crammed third day brought him the tidy sum of 130 li.²⁶

The most serviceable study that has yet been made of the curious

²² Hazlitt, p. 264.

²³ See Malone, III, 176, and my article on "Shakspeare's Income," *Studies in Philology*, xv, 82 ff.

²⁴ In fact they probably did not do so well. Sir Henry received in each case the total receipts minus only the housekeeper's expenses of 2 li. 5s. As likely as not, the actors' expenses also were deducted on the occasion of the poets' benefits, and these expenses, according to the 1635 Globe and Blackfriars Share Papers, amounted to 3 li. (See Halliwell-Phillips, *Outlines*, I, 313.) Thus, from the total average takings of about 10 li. indicated by Herbert's accounts, only about 5 li. would remain for the playwright after all expenses were paid.

²⁵ Andrews, *Richard Brome*, p. 14.

²⁶ *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. Knight, p. 41.

methods of collection in vogue in the Elizabethan Theatre is Mr. Lawrence's article on *Early Systems of Admission*,²⁷ but that article again embodies certain views which I am unable to accept.

A much quoted passage from Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, states that the spectator at The Theatre in 1596 had to "pay one pennie at the gate, another at the entrie of the Scaffolde, and the thirde for a quiet standing"²⁸—in other words, that the audience had first to pay a general admission fee, and then additional charges at other doors leading to the more desirable parts of the house, if they wished a place there. Numerous other documents prove that this method of collection prevailed at all the houses throughout our period.²⁹ Riccobini points out that this arrangement persisted in the Venetian theatres in 1741,³⁰ and Creizenach states that it is still partially current in Italy.³¹ Lawrence raises a pertinent question here: Why were playgoers of Shakspeare's day unable to pay for their gallery or box seats once and for all on entering? The answer lies, he thinks, in the custom of assigning all the general admission receipts to the actors, and the other takings to the "housekeepers," the owners of the playhouses. In short, he supposes that the system of iterated payments was devised to keep the actors' money apart from that of the housekeepers.³² A *post hoc* lurks behind this reasoning. The simple fact of the matter is that our system of single payments requires much more complicated

²⁷ *The Elizabethan Playhouse*, II, 95.

²⁸ See 1596 quarto, p. 233.

²⁹ See, for example, the account of the matter given by Thomas Platter, a Swiss who visited London in 1599: "There are separate galleries and places where one sits better and more pleasantly and on that account pays more. For he who remains below, remains standing, but if he would sit, then they let him through another door, where he pays another penny. If he desires to sit in the most pleasant place of all, upon cushions, then he pays one penny English at another door." (*Anglia*, XXII, 458-9.)

³⁰ *Account of the Theatres in Europe*, p. 56.

³¹ *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (C. Hugon's transl. from *Die Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*), p. 418.

³² "Curiously enough," says Lawrence, "this proportional division of receipts between the actors and proprietors conditioned some of the architectural peculiarities of the early theatre. Separate entrances were not provided for every section of the house as now. Even in the largest theatres there were only two doors, the one leading to the auditorium proper, the other into the tiring room back of the stage. . . ."

machinery than the Elizabethan managers possessed. Collier has shown that in general no seats were reserved,³³ and there is every reason to believe that theatre tickets did not come into general use until after the Restoration.³⁴ A carefully articulated system like that of the modern theatre, which tickets each person for one definite seat in fifteen hundred or two thousand, can be evolved, but hardly invented. The Elizabethan plan was infinitely simpler—from the manager's point of view. Each person paid as he entered, at the place where he entered, dropping his money into the box³⁵ provided for that purpose, under the watchful eye of the "gatherer." The mere fact that this method of collecting made distribution between the actors and housekeepers an easy matter, does not prove that the process was devised with this end in view.³⁶ Without tickets, the Elizabethan managers could hardly have chosen any other collection system; assuredly, they could hardly have conceived of the modern plan under the circumstances.

The outline just given of the Elizabethan collection system—quite apart from the question of how it came about—differs from that of Mr. Lawrence in one important detail. Lawrence holds that while the general admission fee was collected at the door as the spectator entered the theatre, the extra fee for seats in the galleries, or on the stage, was "subsequently enforced *during the performance*,"³⁷ according to the locality, the fee being collected

³³ Collier (*Annals*, III, 340), quotes from W. Fennor's *Counter's Commonwealth* (1617)—a document not accessible to me—as follows: "Each man sate down without respecting of persons, for he that first comes is first seated, like those that come to see plays."

³⁴ See Chapter 3 of my dissertation.

³⁵ Players' boxes are repeatedly alluded to by Northbrooke, Prynne, and other Puritan opponents of the theatres. (See *Shaksp. Soc.*, 1843, p. 127, for Northbrooke, and Prynne's *Histriomastix*, p. 327, and compare *Every Woman in Her Humour* (1609), Act 4, Sc. 1: "Tis even as common to see a bason at a church door as a box at a playhouse." (Collier.)

³⁶ Lawrence's view may be based upon that of Mantzius (*Hist. of Theatr. Art*, III, 109): "As far as we can judge, the theatres of the Shaksperian period had only one entrance, probably for the practical purpose of simplifying the collection, and rendering it difficult for the public to slip into the theatre without paying." Both writers appear to forget for the moment that playhouse architecture and economy were in their infancy during our period, though the drama was not.

³⁷ The italics are mine.

. . . by the gatherers."³⁸ To prove the existence of this practice of collecting during the performance, Lawrence points to the fact that itinerant companies late in the fifteenth century were accustomed to get their money in this fashion.³⁹ Again, he quotes a number of Restoration plays and other documents which prove indubitably that in the days of Pepys it was a rather common practice for certain gallants to stay in the theatre for an entire act on the pretense that they were looking for a friend, and then to leave without paying.⁴⁰ Lawrence is unable to produce a single Elizabethan allusion to the practice, and takes refuge in "the continuance of theatrical tradition"—a convenient, but, in this case, somewhat questionable substitute for evidence.⁴¹ He fails to take account of the fact that not only Lambarde and Platter,⁴² but all other Elizabethan writers or foreign visitors who have anything to say on the subject, speak of *paying at the door* upon entering that part

³⁸ *Elizabethan Playhouse*, I, 11. In the same work (II, 99) Lawrence states: "The extra charge for admission to the boxes and galleries was not collected until the termination of the first act. . . . Those who chose to go out before the gatherer came, had nothing further to pay."

³⁹ Lawrence cites A. W. Pollard, *Macro Plays* (E. E. T. S. extra ser. xci), Introd. p. 12, and text, p. 17. I am far from wishing to question this point. The players naturally had no direct control over the guests who chose to watch their plays from the old inn-yard balconies, and were doubtless glad to "pass the hat."

⁴⁰ Lawrence's citation from the epilogue of D'Avenant's *The Man's the Master* will serve to illustrate the Restoration practice:

"And some,—a deuce take 'em, pretend
They come but to speak with a friend,
Then wickedly rob us of a whole play
By stealing five times an act in a day."

⁴¹ "The danger of laying too much emphasis upon the continuance of theatrical tradition is readily apparent. According to the editor of *Notes and Queries* (9th ser., III, 351) "the price of the upper gallery in 1688 [at Dorset Garden, then occupied by the United Companies] was one shilling. Four shillings was the charge for the admission of ladies." If this was really the case, we have here a discrimination against the ladies for which no continuing tradition from Elizabethan times can be claimed. In any case, the Restoration brought many radical changes and innovations. It brought the "star" system and the disappearance of the old democratic order of company organization characteristic of Shakspeare's times. It brought a new emphasis upon scenic display, and many other changes. (On this point, see also p. 196, below.)

⁴² See above, p. 192, and notes.

of the house in which a seat was desired.⁴³ Indeed, there is extant at least one document of the period which shows that a spectator "who wold not have payed untill he had been within" was killed in the altercation which arose between him and the actors who came off the stage to convince him of the error of his ways.⁴⁴

There are additional reasons for believing that there was no collection between the acts in the Elizabethan theatre. In the first place, not a few of the gatherers were women,⁴⁵ and it does not seem likely that they would be sent among an Elizabethan audience between the acts. In the second place, the gatherers, men and women, were notoriously dishonest;⁴⁶ Filcher and Sharkwell of

* Dekker and the author of *The Actors Remonstrance* designate the gatherers simply as "doorkeepers." In his dedication of *If It Be Not Good* "to his friends and fellows," the Queen's Men, Dekker wishes them "a full audience and one honest *doorkeeper*." Again, see his description of the haunts of the pickpocket: "Know, at a new play he is alwaies *about the playhouse dore*, watching out of which side you draw your purse & then gessing whether the lynng be worth the ventring." (*Iests*, Grosart, II, 327). For the passage from *The Actors Remonstrance* see note 46. Compare also J. T. Murray's documents (*Elizabethan Dramatic Companies*, II, 304): "Rece. *att the hall dore*, the Earl of Wosters playors then playinge," and, II, 326, in which a gatherer of the King's Men describes himself as "this deponent takeing money *att the doore*." Chamberlain's letter describing the famous *England's Joy* episode at the Swan in 1602, speaks of "the price *at coming in*" being eighteen pence or two shillings. (See Chamberlain's letter to Dudley Carleton, November 19, 1602, Camden Soc., LXXIX, 163.) Lawrence—who notes the passage and points out that Vennard, the promoter of this fraudulent enterprise, protested his innocence—queries: "But if the project was really genuine, why did he collect all the money *at the door* instead of following the regular practice of interior gatherings?" The answer is that Vennard did follow the *regular* practice—that of collecting at the door. His irregularity was of another complexion. He advertised a play which he had never intended to put on, and he disappeared with the receipts *before* the performance.

* See Halliwell-Phillips, *Illustrations*, p. 118.

* Robert Browne, an actor at the Fortune in 1612, begged Edward Alleyn to procure him "a gathering place" for his wife (Warner, *Catalogue Dulwich College MSS.*, p. 35); and we know from the will of Henry Condell that Elizabeth Wheaton was a gatherer at the Globe and Blackfriars in the year 1627. (Malone, III, 205). See also the next note.

* Heywood, in his address to the actors (*Apology for Actors*, Shaks. Soc., 1841, pp. 2-3) echoes the passage already quoted from Dekker's *If It Be Not Good* (see above, note 43) by wishing them "judicial audiences, honest poets, and true gatherers." John Russell, gatherer at the Fortune, is thus described in a letter written to Edward Alleyn by one of the actors:

*Bartholomew Fair*⁴⁷ were only two out of many. Is it reasonable to suppose that the actor-sharers and housekeepers would have gone out of their way to encourage their gatherers' thieving propensities by collections between the acts? Finally, it is inconceivable that Dekker, in his satire upon the doings of his Gull at the theatre should have missed the chance of ridiculing the custom had it existed, or that it could have escaped the curious eyes and notebooks of the many foreign visitors who described the interesting proceedings at the Elizabethan theatres. As regards the Restoration custom, it is likely that the managers connived at it because their playhouses were not infrequently empty.⁴⁸ The Restoration theatre did not appeal to the general public as its predecessor had done, and the violent political excitements of the time reacted against the playhouses. It is clear, in any case, that to fill their houses the managers resorted to hitherto unheard-of expedients. Thus, Colley Cibber indignantly recounts how Christopher Rich, the manager of the Theatre Royal in 1697, admitted the domestics of the nobility into his upper galleries gratis,⁴⁹ quite in defiance of Elizabethan tradition. Under the circumstances it may have seemed good policy to swell the attendance, and possibly the receipts, by admitting young gallants rather freely, with the hope of collecting from a fair proportion of them later in the evening. Certainly it is difficult to conceive of such a system—or lack of system—at a time when the theatres were prosperous.

"He . . . often with most damnable othes hath vowde neuer to touch, yet not wth. standinge . . . he hath taken the box & many tymes most vnconscionablye gatherd, for wch. we haue resolued he shall neuer more come to the doore." (*Hensl. Papers*, p. 63.) The author of *The Actors Remonstrance* regretfully remarks: "Nay, our very doorkeepers, men and women, most grievously complain that by this cessation they are robbed of the privilege of stealing from us with license; they cannot now seem to scratch their heads where they itch not and drop shillings and half-crowns in at their collars." (Hazlitt, p. 263.)

"The gatherers who seek to collect from Littlewit when he tries to enter the puppet-show. (Act v, Sc. 3.)

* Shadwell, in the Epilogue to *Bury Fair* (1689), "mourns" his "unfrequented Theatre," and laments the fact that

"Could he write with never so much wit
He must despair of seeing a full pit."

* *Apology*, ed. Lowe, I, 294 ff.

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THE CASTLE OF THE BODY

BY C. L. POWELL

It seems to be pretty well known that the allegorical conception of the body as a world, city, or castle, was a not unusual conceit in middle English times, but no one has as yet called attention to the various passages in which it occurs. These are interesting not only for themselves but on account of the use of the figure in later periods. That it may be found in continental literature as well as in English, is illustrated by its use by Doni in Italy¹ and DuBartas in France;² and that it became a favorite motif in England is shown by Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Fletcher's *Purple Island*, and Bunyan's *Holy War*. In the *Ancren Riwe* and the *Pricke of Conscience*, we find slight suggestions of the idea;³ but in the works considered below, the conceit is pursued in extended detail, and the passages resemble one another sufficiently to point towards a relationship among them. It is impossible in a short paper to discuss these poems at length; I shall

¹ See J. M. Berdan, *Doni and the Jacobians*, *P.M.L.A.*, June, 1907.

² DuBartas, *Divine Weeks*, first week, sixth day. See p. 204, n. 15, below.

³ *Ancren Riwe*, ed. Morton, p. 48:

Wite wel þine heorte, uor soule lif is in hire; zif heo is well iwust.
þe hēorte wardeins beoð þe vif wittes—sihðe & herunge, spekunges
and smellunge, & eueriches limes uelunge.

Pricke of Conscience, ed. Morris, l. 5820:

Ilka mans body may be cald,
Als a castelle here for to hald.

This conceit is of course similar to the Greek idea of microcosmos, but it did not come into English writing from the Greek. The *Ancren Riwe* passage takes its source from *Proverbs*, iv, 23, *Omni custodia serua cor tuum, quia ex ipso vita procedit*, and that of the *Pricke of Conscience* from St. Bernard's lines,

*Bonum castrum custodit
Qui corpus suum custodit,*

both of which passages are quoted in the respective texts. It may be worth noting that the two lines from the *Ancren Riwe* are almost identical with the corresponding ones in *Sawles Warde*. See p. 200, l. 35, below.

pause, therefore, at each one only long enough to point out what seem to me to be the most significant features.

The earliest of these is Robert Grosseteste's translation into Anglo-Norman of the French *Le Chateau d'Amour* in the first half of the thirteenth century. Here, the castle, which takes the place of the world in the microcosmic idea, is an allegorized representation of the body of the Virgin Mary and of certain properties pertaining thereto.⁴ The allegorical meaning of the castle and its various parts is, however, not at all apparent, and an interpretation without the help of the author would be impossible. The castle is described as being situated on a rock in the sea, painted in three colors,—the base green, the middle blue, and the top red—protected by four towers and seven barbaques, and watched over by three bailiffs. The writer explains his meaning as follows:⁵

That is the castelle of love and lysse, [p. 33]
 Of solace, of socour, of joy and blysse,
 Of hope, and hele, and sycornesse,
 And fulle of alle swetnesse.
 This is the maydons body so fre
 That never noon bote hoe,
 That with so fele thewes warned was
 As that swete Marye was.

The fondement that to the roche fast lyth, [p. 34]
 And the fayre grenship therwyth,
 That is the madonis beleve so ryght,
 That hath alle here body i-lyght.

The middle part is "swetnesse and feyreship"; the top is "clere love and bryght."

The foure smale toures abowten,
 That kepyn the hie toure withowtyn, [p. 34]
 Foure hed thewes abowten heere me syth,
 Four vertues cardynals thei byth,

⁴The conception in this poem of the human soul being wooed by a heavenly bridegroom, connects it with other poems of the period, such as *Hali Meidenhad*, the *Ancren Riwele*, and the *Wohing of ure Laverde*. The soul is represented as the daughter of God in the *Pricke of Conscience*, l. 5797.

⁵*Op. cit.*, ed. Halliwell, 1849, p. 29 ff. Our version of this poem is taken from a fourteenth century ms. It may be disputed as to whether or not the original translation antedated the writing of *Saules Warde*, but the point is not worth discussing here.

That is strenghe and slyzhship,
 Ryzhtweanes and warship;
 Everychon hath a 3ate myth gynne
 That non evylle ther may com withinne.

Bote the innemaste bayli I wot, [p. 35]
 That betokynth heere holy maydenhod.

The myddyll bayly that wyte 3e
 Betokeneth here holy chastité,
 And sethen the otmast bayle
 Betokenyth here hoole spousayle.

And the sewyn barbacanes abowte, [p. 36]
 That with so gret gynne byth wrowght withowte,
 And kepyn these castel so welle,
 With aroo and with quarell
 That byth sewyn vertuee that han wyth wynne
 Overcome the vij. dedly synne.

Thereas the castell is so stabull, [p. 39]
 Cherité is there constabull.

The important details here are the "maydons body so fre" and the virtues attached to it, the spiritual and semi-religious interpretation, and certain details, such as the four cardinal virtues, the three bailiffs, and the constable Charity. It will be noticed that no parts of the body are given allegorical significance, and similarly the details of the castle have no physical counterparts; in other words, the allegory is almost entirely unintelligible.

The next example of this castle conceit is found in the old homily *Sawles Warde*, which was written, it is thought, somewhere in the first half of the thirteenth century. The description of the castle is as follows:*

Pis hus þe ure lauerd	[l. 13]	wið alle unwreste þeawes.
spekeð of is seolf þe mon.		a3ein euch god þeaw,
inwið þe monnes wit		þe wilteð i þis hus
is þe huselauerd;		Godes deore chatel
ant te fulitohe wif,		under Wittes wissunge,

* *Op. cit.*, ed. Wagner (Bonn, 1908), .l. 13 ff. Morris also edits this poem (*E.E.T.S.*), using the Bodl. ms. (the oldest) and the Royal ms. In his version, the work appears as prose. Wagner, "*auf grund aller Handschriften*," casts it into the above poetical form. The latter treatment seems the more authoritative.

mei beo Wil ihaten.

3ef Wit ne forbude ham; [1. 27]
for alle ha beoð untohene
ant rechelese hinen,
buten 3ef he ham rihte.
ant [hwuche] beoð 3eos hinen?
Summe beoð wið-ute
ant summe wið-innen.
3eos wið-ute [ha] beoð
3e monnes fif wittes:
sihte *ant* herunge,
smechunge *ant* smellunge
ant euch limes felunge.
3eos beoð hinen under Wit
as under huse-lauerd.
ant hwer so he is 3emeles,
nis hare nan, 3et ne fareð
ofte untohelice
ant gultes ilome
oðer i fol semblant
oðer in uuel dede.
In-wið beoð [his] hinen
in so moni mislich þonc
to cwemen wel 3e husewif.

Ne hið neauer his hus [1. 59]
for 3eos hinen wel i-wist
for hwon 3et he slepe
oðer fare from hame,
3et is, hwen mon forzet his wit
ant let ham i-wurðen
ah ne behoueð hit nowt
3et tis hus beo irobbet:
for 3er is inne 3e tresur
3et is monnes sawle.
forto breoken þis hus
efter þis tresor,
3et Godd bohte mit [h]is deð
ant lette lif on rode,
is moni 3eof abuten
ba bi dei ant bi niht,
unsekeliche gastes .

3et is huselauerd,
is eauer hire unþeaw
forto sechen in3ong
abute 3e wahes,
to amurðren hire þrinne.
3et heauet 3erof is 3e feont,
3e meistres ham alle.
a3eines him ant his keis
3e husebonde, 3et is Wit,
warneð his hus þus:
ure lauerd haueð ilenet him
fowre of his dehtren,
3et beoð to understonden
3e fowr heauet-þeawes.
3e eareste is Warschipe
icleopet, an te oðer
is gastelich Strence,
ant te þridde is Með
Rihtwisnesse 3e feorðe.
Wit, te husebonde,
Godes cunestable
cleopeð Warschipe fort
ant makeð hire dureward.

Strence stont nest hire. [1. 112]

3e þridde suster, 3et is Með [1. 118]
hire he makeð meister
ouer his willesfule hird,
3et we ear of speken,
3et ha leare ham meðe,
3et me meosure hat:
3e middel of twa þing,
for 3et is þeaw in euch stude
and tuht forto halden;

3e feorðe suster Rihtwisnesse,
sit on hest as deme. [1. 131]

In these passages we find, besides the same general conception, some definite similarities to the *Castle of Love*. The most apparent of these are the same four cardinal virtues as guardians (except

that Worship is replaced by Temperance), and the Constable, the one being Charity and the other Wit or Intelligence. So far as the allegorical value of the two poems is concerned, we may say that the former makes more of the physical features and the latter of the living or spiritual, and that the allegorical signification is as clear in the one case as it is obscure in the other. Furthermore, in *Sawles Warde* the castle is differentiated from its chief guardian and lacks the personality of the Virgin castle, that personality being distributed among the caretakers, and the house itself being represented as both inanimate and sexless. This allows for more play throughout the entire metaphor and consequently more significance in its interpretation. Thus we have in the latter case not only a contention against the evil forces without but also internal strife between Wit and Will. In addition we have the introduction of the five wits and the omission of the less tangible seven virtues, although these are suggested in the various defenders of the castle from the attacks of the vices. The most important of these new details are man's soul, represented by the treasure, Wit and Will, together with the strife between them, and the external enemies to the castle, headed by the devil. The use of the five wits in other works prevents us from attaching much importance to their introduction here.

In the *Vita de Dowel, Dobet and Dobest*, the second part of *Piers the Plowman*, the same castle allegory occurs again. The references to the figure are too scattered to allow a quotation of sufficient length to show them all; I shall therefore give only that one which contains the actual description.⁷

"Sire Dowel dwelleth," quoth Wit, "not a day hennes, [l. 1]
 In a castel of Kuynde i-mad of foure kunne thinges,
 Of erthe, of eir hit is mad i-medelet to-gedere,
 With wynd and watur ful wittiliche i-meint.
 Cuynde hath closet ther-in craftiliche with-alle,
 A loueli lemmon lyk to him-self,
 Anima heo hette: to hire hath envye
 A proud prikere of Fraunce, *princeps huius mundi*,
 And wolde wynnen hire a-wei with wiles 3if he mihte.

But the cunstable of the castel that kepeth hem alle, [l. 16]

⁷ *Op. cit.*, ed. Skeat, A text, Pas. x, l. 1 ff. The three texts vary somewhat, but the differences are not worth noting here.

Is a wys kniht with-alle sire Inwit he hette,
 And hath fyue feire sones bi his furste wyf;
 Sire Seowel, and Seywel and Herewel the hende,
 Sire Worche-wel-with-thin-hond a wiht mon of strengthe.
 And sire Godfrey Gowel grete lordes alle.

That is the castel that Kuynde made *Caro* hit hette [l. 38]
 And is as muche as to mene as mon with a soule.

Inwit and alle wittes ben closest ther-inne, [l. 42]
 For loue of that ladi that Lyf is i-nempnet;
 That is *Anima*, that ouer al in the bodi wandureth,
 But in the herte is hire hom hiȝest of alle;
 Heo is lyf and ledere and a lemmon of heuene*
 Inwit is the help that *Anima* desyreth;
 After the grace of god the gretteste is Inwit.
 Inwit in the hed is and helpeth the soule,
 Fot thorw his connyng he kepeth *Caro et Anima*
 In rule and in reson bote recheles hit make.

In monnes brayn he is most and mihtiest to knowe, [l. 54]
 There he is bremest but ȝif blod hit make.
 For whonne blod is bremore then brayn then is Inwit i-bounde,
 And eke wantoun and wylde withouten eny resoun.

Thenne hath the pouke pouer sire *princeps huius mundi*, [l. 62]
 Ouer suche maner men miht in heore soules."

The similarity of the allegory here to that of *Sawles Warde* lies not only in the main idea but in not a few of the details as well. The chief of these are: the various inhabitants of the two houses, particularly Wit and Inwit; the opponents without, led in each case by the devil; the governing power of the house, invested in Intelligence,⁹ and the distress of the body, or home, when this power is absent; and the soul, in *Sawles Warde* represented as a treasure and in the *Vita* personified into the form of a woman, which is made the greatest object of value to be guarded from hostile forces. The figures Wit and Will are removed from the castle in the *Vita*,¹⁰ but both occur nearby in the poem, as if in some

* Note the conception of the soul as a woman and a "lemmon of heuene." Cf. p. 198, n. 4, above and p. 203, n. 12, below.

⁹ In the *Vita*, Inwit has not only intelligence but also temperance, which in *Sawles Warde*, is attributed to Wit's daughter Meß.

¹⁰ Counterparts to them exist, however, in Inwit and Caro, between whom a disagreement is suggested, although not so violent a one as that between Wit and Will.

way connected with the general idea, and an antithesis is implied as existing between them.¹¹ Dowel, the owner of the castle, is not altogether a new figure, as he may be likened to, if not identified with, "ure lauerd" of *Sawles Warde*. He is rather an indistinct personage, seeming to represent human perfection, although on some occasions he appears to represent Christ.¹² The fact that Dobet and Dobest are his daughters assisting Anima, just as Worship, Strength, Temperance, and Righteousness are the daughters of "ure lauerd," contributes to make the two appear identical. The five wits, or approximations to them, are also present in each poem, but as before noted, no great significance can be attached to the fact. There is in both poems the same lack of parallel between the features of the body and the physical attributes of the castles. Certain expressions in the *Vita* seem to echo those of the earlier poem, but they are not numerous enough or sufficiently similar to enable us to argue anything from them.¹³

The castle in *The Faerie Queene* is described in far greater detail than any of those preceding it. I quote only the two stanzas which explain the allegory:¹⁴

Of all Gods workes, which do this world adorne,
There is no one more faire and excellent,
Then is mans body both for powre and forme,
Whiles it is kept in sober gouernment;
But none then it more fowle and indecent,
Distempred through misrule and passions bace;
It growes a Monster, and incontinent

¹¹ A, IX, 118 (B, VIII, 124; C, XI, 124):

Oure Wille wolde i-witen gif Wit couthe hym techen;

also C, XI, 51:

Ac fre wil and fre wit folweth a man euere.

In the first passage, Wille is probably merely the author himself, as in C, II, 5; but considering both passages, it seems as if some contrast between the two ideas was meant to be conveyed.

¹² A, VIII, 186 (B, VII, 199; C, X, 350); also A, IX, 40 (B, VIII, 45; C, XI, 43). The character of Dowel seems to indicate that the writer had in mind the "wooing of our Lord" situation.

¹³ The comparison of man's body to a boat (A, IX, 25; B, VIII, 30; C, XI, 33), battered by the waves of the sea and having Charity as "champion," is extremely suggestive of Grosseteste's castle of the sea.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, Bk. III, canto IX, verse 1; and II, XI, 2. The whole of the ninth canto is employed in the description of the castle. 12

Doth loose his dignitie and natius grace.
Behold, who list, both one and other in this place.

But in a body, which doth freely yeeld
His partes to reasons rule obedient,
And letteth her that ought the scepter weeld,
All happy peace and goodly gouernment,
Is setled there in sure establishment;
There Alma like a virgin Queen most bright,
Doth flourish in all beautie excellent:
And to her guesstes doth bounteous banquet dight,
Attempred goodly well for health and for delight.

Spenser's allegory differs from the preceding ones chiefly in the parallelism established in physical aspects, in which the parts of the body are worked into the form of a castle with great detail. It seems pretty clear that he took this part of the conceit from DuBartas.¹⁵ There is, however, nothing in DuBartas suggestive of the spiritual, or non-physical, part of the allegory; and if Spenser is indebted to any previous work for this, it must be to one or more of those discussed above.

It will be readily seen from the passage of Spenser here referred to that the general situation is again the same,—a fleshly castle in which the chief dweller is the soul (*Anima* or *Alma*), who is opposed by hostile forces from without and defended by members of the household. The castle is ruled by reason and bulwarked against the enemy by the five senses. In the Spenser version, it is further defended by the Knight of Temperance, corresponding in part to Wit and Inwit of the earlier poems, who fulfills his allegorical character by beating off the horde of evil spirits. On the whole, less is made of the spiritual significance in Spenser's poem than in the *Vita*; and the moral idea as expressed in the stanzas quoted, though strangely similar to that of both *Sawles Warde* and the *Vita*, is not allegorically portrayed, as it is in both the other works. The minor details which seem to point to a dependence by Spenser upon the preceding poems, are: the two damsels attending Alma, who may (or may not) be taken from Dobet and Dobest; the chamber of Alma, being the heart or parlor; and the

¹⁵ See the discussion of the relation of Spenser to DuBartas, with parallel extracts, in A. H. Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 168 ff., and App. B.

location of the governing power in the head. The conception of Alma herself, who, like Anima, "ouer al in the bodi wandureth," is, of course, the chief point of similarity between the *Vita* and the *Faerie Queene* versions, aside from the general idea.

A more careful study of these four parallel passages than the above brief discussion may indicate, leads me to think that it is not possible to *prove* the dependence of any one of them upon a predecessor, although such dependence is strikingly suggested, especially in the similarity of the *Vita* passage to that in *Sawles Warde*. My aim in this paper has been merely to bring to notice the existence of this parallelism, in the hope that someone else may find herein a profitable point of departure for wider study.

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RECENT LITERATURE

I. THE DRAMA

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This record of the Master of the Revels from 1623 to 1673 covers an important period in the history of the English stage, and is an admirable supplement to Feuillerat's edition of the records of the office during the sixteenth century. Professor Adams has here added materially to the great debt which students of Elizabethan literature owe him for his works upon the theatre and upon dramatic conditions generally. The present work is particularly serviceable because it makes easily accessible information which heretofore could be secured only from scattered sources in books not always to be found in college libraries. The original manuscript of Sir Henry Herbert's records has long since disappeared; Mr. Adams has therefore been under the necessity of piecing together from a variety of sources transcripts of the original. To these records he has added upwards of forty documents relative in one way or another to the general subject. The exhaustive index not only renders the book a highly useful tool, but gives information, or clues through which information may be found on an extraordinary number of topics necessary to an understanding of Jacobean and Restoration dramatic matters.

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- Moore, Charlotte (ed.). *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Nabbes*, part I. Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Company, 1918. (University of Pennsylvania diss.)
- Withington, Robert. *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline.* pp. xx, 238. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

This first volume of Professor Withington's important project traces the history of English Pageantry through the seventeenth century, with a few notes on later royal progresses. The opening chapter deals with the elements in the mumming, the procession and the various characters, such as men in armor, minstrels, giants, animals, the wild men, and various allegorical figures. The second chapter deals with the tournament and the masque so far as these contributed to the pageant. Later chapters are devoted to the "royal entry," the Elizabethan pageants, and the pageant in the seventeenth century. A number of illustrations add to the interest and value of the book. Much of Professor Withington's work, naturally, has been the collection of details from a large number of sources, and the book as a whole presents rather a formless impression. This is partly due to the nature of the material, since the author regards the pageant primarily as the expression of the dramatic instinct of the folk community, contrasting it with the masque, in which the dramatic interests of the court circle find expression. The essential element of the pageant is its popular character, its root is in folk custom, with modifications from church and literary sources. He differentiates between folk-play and pageant, the procession or "riding" being an essential of the form he is treating. The book is a useful collection of a very large number of illustrations, drawn from sources which do not admit of much expansion, while of course there are few texts. But one regrets that Mr. Withington's method does not permit him to draw many conclusions; the summaries are all too brief.

II. SHAKESPEARE

- Archer, William. "*The Two Twelfth Nights.*" *The Fortnightly Review*, CIV, 948-952.
- Baugh, Albert C. *A Note on the Shakespeare First Folio.* *Modern Language Notes*, XXXII, 505.
- Beam, Jacob N. *Herman Kirchner's Coriolanus.* *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, N. S. XXVI, 269-301.
- Boas, F. S. *Shakesperian Performances at Sea in 1607 and 1608.* *The Contemporary Review*, CXIV, 68-74.
- Boyajian, Zabelle C. *War and Peace in Shakespeare.* *The Contemporary Review*, CXIV, 569-576.
- Brereton, J. LeGay. *Shakespeare's Life of Henry the Fifth.* Melbourne and Sydney, Lothian Book Publishing Company.
- Chapman, John Jay. *Lincoln and Hamlet.* *The North American Review*, CXXIX, 371-379.
- Charlton, H. B. *The Date of "Love's Labour's Lost."* *The Modern Language Review*, XIII, 257-266.
- Cruikshank, A. B. *The True Character of Hamlet.* New York, Knickerbocker Press.
- Doak, H. A. *Ghosts in Shakespeare.* *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, VIII, 377-387.
- Dowden, Edward. *The Mind and Art of Shakespeare*, pp. xxiii, 386. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1918.

A reprint of the third edition of this standard work, with an introduction by Professor W. D. Howe. The brief introduction stresses the hold the book has had for more than forty years, and its abiding charm and usefulness. Professor Howe also points out that the book is still of value for reading in connection with the study of the plays, being particularly valuable for its stimulus to reading. The Editor has also appended a brief bibliography for elementary students.

- Gray, H. D. *The Original Version of "Love's Labour's Lost," with a Conjecture as to "Love's Labour's Won."* Stanford University Press.
- Green, Alexander. *The Apochryphal Sir Thomas More and the Shakespeare Holograph.* *The American Journal of Philology*, XXXIX, 229-267.
- Harwan, E. G. *The "Shakespeare Problem."* *The Nineteenth Century and After*, LXXXV, 824-841.

- Hickey, Emily. *In the Forest of Arden*. The Catholic World, CVII, 515-525.
- Jonas, Maurice. *Shakespeare and the Stage*. London, Davis and Arioli.
- Keys, F. V. *Shakespeare and the Hour*. The North American Review, CCVIII, 881-893.
- Lawrence, E. G. *Sidelights on Shakespeare*. Stratford.
- Lewis, Charlton M. (ed.). *The Tragedy of Macbeth*. New Haven, Yale University Press. (The Yale Shakespeare.)
- McClarey, John A. *An Estimate of Shakespeare*. New York, Schwartz, Kirwin and Fauss.
- Mais, S. P. B. *From Shakespeare to O. Henry*. New York, Dodd, Mead and Company.
- Marriott, J. A. R. *English History in Shakespeare*, pp. 298. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company.

This book is a study of the chronicle plays from the point of view of an historian. Mr. Marriott conceives the series from *Richard II* to *Richard III* as one great drama, a "Ring," with *John* as the prologue and *Henry VIII* the epilogue. The opening sentence of Hall's *Chronicles*, which traces all national troubles to "intestine division" is, Mr. Marriott thinks, a complete summary of the argument of Shakespeare's plays dealing with English history. The argument of every play is England; Ulysses' speech on "degree" and Gaunt's praise of England is the sum of his political apologia. Thus, in the reign of John the significance to Shakespeare and his audience lay not in the fact that England's failure in France and the quarrel with the Pope were steps to nationalism. This nationalism Mr. Marriott traces in all the plays, adding to his exposition a discussion of the relation of Shakespeare's treatment to what historians have learned of the facts about each reign and giving, besides abstracts of plots, considerable literary criticism. Both plot analyses and criticism are elementary and at times out of place—the long digression on Falstaff for example. The criticism leaves the impression of having been got up for the occasion, not always from the best sources. It would have been better if Mr. Marriott had confined himself to the theme announced by his title. As it is, one gets more information about Shakespeare's use of history from the introduction to any good school edition, partly because the method of the book seems to be to tell the events of the reign and then to give an abstract of Shakespeare's plot, with comments on the characters. The method is also faulty in that it presupposes that Shakespeare started out with a full philosophy of English history and did the work of composition by writing "chapters" as they occurred to him and without regard to chronology. Thus Mr. Marriott loses the advantage of using the plays in the order

in which Shakespeare wrote them, as a means for marking the development of the ideas as well as the workmanship of the dramatist. It should be said, however, that the book is readable, that it bears witness to the essential accuracy of Shakespeare's treatment of many characters and events in English history, and that it has timely interest because of the author's conviction that there is special need for English-speaking people to study Shakespeare in the light of national destiny.

- Mason, Lawrence. *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice*. New Haven, the Yale University Press. (The Yale Shakespeare.)
- Mason, Lawrence. *Some Further Shakespeare Allusions or Parallels*. Modern Language Notes, xxxiii, 204-208.
- Morgan, Appleton. *What Meres Knew About Shakespeare's Sonnets: A Reply to Doctor Carpenter*. The Catholic World, cvii, 235-246.
- Morgan, B. Q. *Shakespeare on Germanophobia*. The Nation, cvii, 228.
- Nation, The. *Why Shakespeare Quit*. The Nation, cvii, 219.
- Pooker, C. Knox. *Shakespeare's Sonnets, and a Lover's Complaint*. London, Methuen and Company.
- Schem, Lida C. *Two Latter-Day Hamlets*. The Dial, lxvi, 228-231.
- Simpson, Percy. *Horatio and the Ghost in Hamlet*. The Modern Language Review, xiii, 321-322.
- Tannenbaum, Samuel A. "*Your Napkin is too little; Let it Alone*." Studies in Philology, xv, 73-82.
- Thaler, Alwin. *Shakespeare's Income*. Studies in Philology, xv, 82-96.
- Tolman, A. H. *Questions on Shakespeare: First Histories, Poems, Comedies*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
- Tolman, A. H. *Shakespeare Studies*. Modern Language Notes, xxxiii, 463-468.
- Tolman, A. H. *Shakespeare Studies, part IV*. Modern Language Notes, xxxiv, 82-87.
- Tolman, A. H. *Why did Shakespeare create Falstaff?* Publications of the Modern Language Association, N. S. xxvii, 1-13.
- Wilson, J. Dover. *The Parallel Plots in 'Hamlet': A Reply to Doctor W. W. Greg*. The Modern Language Review, xiii, 129-156.

- Watson, Foster. *Shakespeare and Two Stories of Luis Vives*.
The Nineteenth Century and After, LXXXV, 297-306.
The Yale Shakespeare. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Special characteristics of this series, of which a dozen volumes have appeared in the last three years, are the omission of critical material, the ingenious management of the notes, and the faithfulness with which the editors have held to their ideal of making each volume a practical tool for the use of students. Thus no introduction is given; the reader begins immediately with the play. In the appendix one finds a brief account of the sources with extracts printed in the original spelling; there is also a concise stage history of the play.

III. SPENSER

- "E. K. B." *Lochrine and the Faerie Queene*. The Nation, CVII, 296.
Cook, Albert S. *Five Spenserian Trifles*. The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XVII, 289-290.
Crane, Ronald S. *Imitation of Spenser and Milton in the Early Eighteenth Century: a New Document*. Studies in Philology, xv, 195-206.
DeMoss, W. F. *Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues "According to Aristotle"*. Modern Philology, xvi, 23-38 and 245-270.
Greenlaw, Edwin. *Spenser's Fairy Mythology*. Studies in Philology, xv, 205-222.
Hughes, Merritt Y. *Spenser's "Blatant Beast"*. The Modern Language Review, XIII, 267-285.
Padelford, Frederick Morgan. *Talus: the Law*. Studies in Philology, xv, 97-104.

IV. OTHER WRITERS AND WORKS

- Adams, Joseph Quincy. *Michael Drayton's "To the Virginia Voyage"*. Modern Language Notes, XXXIII, 405-408.
Brie, F. *Sidneys Arcadia. Eine Studie zur engl. Renaissance*. Strassburg, K. J. Trübner, 1918. (Quellen und Forschungen, 124 Hft.)
Clark, D. L. *The Requirements of a Poet: A Note on the Sources of Ben Jonson's "Timber," paragraph 130*. Modern Philology, xvi, 413-429.
Crosland, T. W. H. *The English Sonnet*. New York, Dodd, Mead and Company.

- Fowler, J. T. *Verses on 'The Bee.'* Modern Language Notes, XIII, 319-320.
- Gosse, Edmund. *The Tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh's Death.* The Fortnightly Review, crr, 715-723.
- Harkness, Stanley. *The Prose Style of Sir Philip Sidney.* Madison, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, II, 57-76.
- Hubbard, F. G. *Possible Evidence for the Date of "Tamburlaine."* Publications of the Modern Language Association, N. S., xxvi, 436-443.
- Maynard, Theodore. *Roman and Utopian More.* The Catholic World, cviii, 433-440.
- Mustard, W. P. *Notes on Lyly's "Euphues."* Modern Language Notes, xxxiii, 334-342; xxxiv, 121-122.
- Mustard, W. P. *Note on Lodowick Brysket.* Modern Language Notes, xxxiii, 504-505.
- Phillpotts, Eden. *Hayes Barton.* Studies in Philology, xv, 69-72.
- Poe, Clarence. *The Tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh's Death.* The South Atlantic Quarterly, xviii, 1-5.
- Rollins, Hyder E. *Martin Parker, Ballad-Monger.* Modern Philology, xvi, 449-474.
- Whibley, Charles. *Sir Walter Raleigh.* Blackwood's Magazine, cciv, 670-686.
- Wright, Herbert. *Ben Jonson on Elizabethan Translations of Homer and Virgil.* The Modern Language Review, xiii, 322-323.

V. MILTON

- Baldwin, E. C. *Milton and Ezekiel.* Modern Language Notes, xxxiii, 211-215.
- Cook, A. S. *Miscellaneous Notes.* Modern Language Notes, xxxiii, 378-379.
- Dodge, R. E. Neill. *Theology in Paradise Lost.* Madison, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, II, 9-21.
- Gilbert, Allan H. *Miscellaneous Notes.* Modern Language Notes, xxxiv, 120-121.
- Hanford, James Holly. *The Temptation Motive in Milton.* Studies in Philology, xv, 176-194.

Jebb, Sir Richard (ed.). *Milton's Areopagitica*. Pp. xl, 130. Cambridge University Press.

An attractive edition in which the editorial work is conspicuous because of the attention paid to Milton's use of the classics.

King, Georgiana G. *A Note on "Lycidas."* Modern Language Notes, xxxiii, 310.

Moore, Oliver H. *The Infernal Council*. Modern Philology, xvi, 169-193.

Ramsay, Robert L. *Morality Themes in Milton's Poetry*. Studies in Philology, xv, 123-158.

Stoll, Elmer Edgar. *Was Paradise Well Lost?* Publications of the Modern Language Association, N. S., xxvi, 429-435.

Thompson, Elbert N. S. *Milton's "Of Education."* Studies in Philology, xv, 159-175.

VI. HISTORY AND CRITICISM

Albright, Evelyn N. *Ad imprimendum solum*. Modern Language Notes, xxxiv, 97-104.

Bayfield, M. A. *Our Traditional Prosody and an Alternative*. The Modern Language Review, xiii, 157-182.

Christy, Miller. *Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Tilbury in 1588*. The English Historical Review, xxxiv, 43-61.

Fuller, Mary B. *In the Time of Sir John Eliot*. Smith College Studies in History.

Hanscom, E. D. *Elizabethan Black Bread*. The Nation, cvi, 594.

Kelley, Caleb Guyer. *French Protestantism (1559-1562)*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1918. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.)

Kennedy, W. P. M. *Fines Under the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity*. The English Historical Review, xxxiii, 517-528.

McIlwain, Charles Howard (ed.) *Political Works of James First*. pp. cxi, 354. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

The first volume in the new series of Harvard Political Classics published under the direction of the Department of Government in Harvard University is of importance to all students of political theory in Elizabethan and Stuart literature. The book contains such texts as the "Basilikon Doron," "The Trew Law of Free Monarchy," "An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance," together with some of the king's speeches. The editor's learned introduction is at once a guide to the

reading of the text and a notable contribution to the history of political theory in the seventeenth century. The appendices on various special topics and an exhaustive bibliography complete the equipment of the book.

For the student of literature the chief importance of the book consists in the material which it gives for a right estimate of important aspects of the thought of Bacon, Raleigh, and Milton. The introduction shows clearly how intimate the connection between politics and religious controversy became under James. The Jesuits were like the Puritans in their belief in the right to depose an unworthy king. The result was to make James eager to prove his orthodoxy and also to insist on his divine right. While Professor McIlwain, of course, limits his discussion to James himself and to the various documents in the controversy, the student of Elizabethan thought will find the book invaluable as a means of better understanding the ideas of Raleigh, Bacon, and Milton. The cleavage between the thought of James and that of Raleigh, for example, is clearly marked. In *Basilikon Doron* he advises Prince Henry to love God because "he made you a little *God*, to sit on his Throne, and rule ouer other men." With this contrast Raleigh's letter to the Prince, in which he says, "Preserve to your future subjects the divine right of being free agents, and to your own royal house the divine right of being their benefactors. Believe me, my prince, there is no other right can flow from God . . . Exert yourself, O generous prince . . . in the divine cause of liberty, and assume an ambition worthy of you, to secure your fellow-creatures from slavery." (*Works*, VIII, 665). And the contrast comes out even more clearly if we compare the national ideals of the two men. James called himself the "Husband" and Britain his "lawful wife." Elizabeth, says Welwood (cited by Mr. McIlwain, p. xxxix) sought greatness to make her people share in it, while James "grasped at immoderate power . . . with a design to make his people *little*." Compare with this the lofty patriotism of Raleigh, his perception of the future greatness of England and of the means by which that greatness was to be attained, the volume and quality of his writings on the subject. Students of Bacon are equally benefited by using Mr. McIlwain's book. On the relation between England and Spain, and on the necessity for British sea-power to be developed to a degree previously unknown, Bacon agreed with Raleigh. There is also in Bacon, as in Raleigh, a considerable body of political thought comparatively neglected by recent students, and, as Mr. Gardiner has pointed out, Bacon constantly endeavored to make James see that his own safety and that of the realm depended upon a mutual understanding between the king and the parliament. If Bacon and Raleigh had been followed, to name no others, the split between the Stuarts and the people would not have occurred. The English tradition, the understanding of the constitution we find not in the governors of England during the period, but in Bacon, Raleigh, and Milton.

Shafer, Robert. *The English Ode to 1660*. pp. vi-167. Princeton University Press.

This book, although a doctoral dissertation, does well a task that has long called for performance. The handbooks of literary history of course call attention to the loose use of the term "ode," by English poets, treat the odes of Cowley and their relations to Pindar's Odes, and similar topics. But here we have a well-planned definition and history of the Ode up to and including Cowley. After an introduction in which the genre is defined the author gives an account of the classical prototypes, with a complete analysis of the form influential in English literary history—the Pindaric and the Horatian. A chapter on English Odes prior to 1660, is useful mainly for its examination of lyric poems wrongly called "odes" by poets and others. Following is a chapter on Pindar on the continent and in England which in itself is a useful contribution to the study of the classical influence in modern literature. On this foundation Doctor Shafer builds his treatment of the English Ode in the seventeenth century, the beginnings in Davison, Drayton, Milton; the more considerable work of Jonson and his tribe, and, lastly, the "Pindariques" of Cowley. A complete bibliography and an index of names complete a volume which is of great value not only to the student of comparative and English literature but also to the student of versification.

Smith, David Nichol. *Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century with an Essay on the Character, and Historical Notes*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Smith, Robert M. *The Date and Authorship of Hall's Chronicle*. *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, xvii, 252-266.

Thomson, Gladys Scott. *Roads in England and Wales in 1603*. *English Historical Review*, xxxiii, 234-243.

Utopias. *Utopias*. *The Unpopular Review*, x, 355-367.

Withington, R. *English Pageantry*. Cambridge, The Harvard University Press.

VII. CONTINENTAL INFLUENCES

Allen, Maurice (ed.). *Anthologie poétique française XVI^e siècle*. Paris, Garnier frères. Two volumes.

Allier, R. (ed.). *Anthologie protestante française XVI^e and XVII^e Siècles*. Paris, G. Crès et Cie.

Baskerville, C. R. *Review of Mary Augusta Scott's Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*. *Modern Philology*, xvi, 213-218.

- Cervellini, G. B. *Torquato Tasso V. 1: La Vita*. Messina, G. Principato.
- Croce, B. *Ludovico Ariosto*. Bari, G. Laterza e figli. (Repr. fr. "La Critica," March 20, 1918.)
- Dorchain, Auguste. *Pierre Corneille*. Paris, Garnier frères.
- de Perott, Joseph. *Notes on Professor M. A. Scott's "Elizabethan Translations from the Italian."* The Romanic Review, **ix**, 304-308.
- Gálves, J. M. *Guevara in England, nebst Neudruck von Lord Berners' 'Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius' (1535)*. Berlin, Mayer and Müller, 1916. (Palaestra, 109.)
- Hare, C. *Life and Letters in the Italian Renaissance*. London, S. Paul.
- Letts, Malcolm. *Some Sixteenth Century Travellers in Naples*. The English Historical Review, **xxxiii**, 176-196.
- Moore, Olin H. *Boccaccio's "Filocolo" and the Annunciation*. Modern Language Notes, **xxxiii**, 438-440.
- Mustard, W. P. *Later Echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets*. American Journal of Philology, **xxxix**, 193-198.
- Mustard, W. P. *Humanistic Imitations of Lucretius*. The Classical Weekly, **xii**, 48.
- Mustard, W. P. (ed.). *Eclogues*. By Faustus Andrelinus and Joannes Arnolletus. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1918.
- O'Hagan, Thomas. *The Catholic Church and the Italian Renaissance*. The Catholic World, **cviii**, 601-610.
- Panzini, Alfredo. *Matteo Maria Boiardo*. Messina, G. Principato. (Storia critica della letteratura italiana, v. 10.)
- Rosa, P. *Per una fonte dell'Amorosa Visione di G. Boccaccio: nota critica*. Potenza, Tip. editrice.
- Smith, Preserved. *A Note of Tasso's*. The Nation, **cviii**, 255.
- Smith, W. F. *Rabelais in His Writings*. Cambridge, University Press.
- Spiers, A. G. H. *Molière and Corneille*. Modern Language Notes, **xxxiii**, 501-503.
- Tilley, Morris P. *Della Casa's "Galateo" in Seventeenth Century England*. The Romanic Review, **ix**, 309-312.

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WITCHCRAFT IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY TOM PEETE CROSS

. o quam
Credula mens hominis, et erectae fabulis aures!

The study of popular delusions has far more than an antiquarian or academic interest. Its results constitute one of the most fascinating and instructive chapters in the story of human progress. Written history is not so much the record of battles, conquests, and legislative acts as of social and intellectual development, and no true chronicle of any people can be written until account is taken of its popular beliefs and superstitions, as well as of the more obvious forces that ordinarily engage the attention of the historian. Witch stories are human documents and as such they must be reckoned with in any account of the mental temper of a people who believe in witches and whose actions are, even to a limited extent, ordered in accord with such belief.

With these facts in mind, the branch of the American Folk-Lore Society recently organized in North Carolina has undertaken the task of collecting and recording the popular tradition of that state. The following sketch, prepared at the request of the society, was designed originally to deal with only one of the many phases of folk superstition—Witchcraft; but owing to the heterogeneous character of the collectanea submitted, it has in process of time become a sort of omnium-gatherum of North Carolina tradition regarding magic and supernaturalism. Its purpose is twofold: first, to enumerate such items of witch lore as have already been collected in North Carolina and to point out their traditional character; second, by means of illustrations from the folk-lore of neighboring

territory, to indicate what other articles of the diabolical creed future collectors may hope to discover.¹

Faith in the reality of witchcraft is one of the oldest and most persistent tenets of the human race. Most of us who think at all on the subject doubtless regard the superstition as having originated in that highly developed, complicated, and schematized system for which scholasticism and the Christian church were answerable from the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, but no conclusion could be more erroneous. Witchcraft is as old as history itself, and its existence cannot be laid at the door of the Catholic church or of any other form of religious belief. It "was once universal; it was rooted and grounded in the minds of the people before they became Christians; and it is still the creed of most savages"² and of millions of civilized men. The essential principle underlying its manifold composition is *maleficium*, defined by a recent authority as "the working of harm to the bodies and goods of one's fellow-men by means of evil spirits or of strange powers derived from intercourse with such spirits."³ Before the landing of

¹ A small amount of illustrative material of a historical or comparative character has been added, but it is quite from the compiler's purpose to attempt anything like complete documentation except in the case of North Carolina tradition. The curious reader may form an idea of the excessively voluminous literature of witchcraft from such works as Professor George L. Burr's essay on the "Literature of Witchcraft" in the papers of the *American Historical Association* for 1890 (p. 238 ff.). Cf. *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, N. S., **xxi** (1911), 185 ff., Professor George L. Kittredge's article in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, N. S., vol. **xviii** (1907), Wallace Notestein's *History of Witchcraft in England* (Washington, 1911), and Joseph Hansen's *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter* (München u. Leipzig, 1900). Cf. W. H. D. Adams, *Witch, Warlock, and Magician*, London, 1889, p. 378 ff. A mass of evidence bearing on the witchcraft superstition in America during the colonial period has been published by Professor Burr in his *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases* (Original Narratives of Early American History), New York, 1914. Cf. C. W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, Boston, 1867, 2 vols.

² Kittredge, *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, **xviii** (reprint, p. 4, n. 1). Pertinent observations on the essentially popular character of the witchcraft superstition are to be found in Sir Walter Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, London, 1830, p. 184 f.

³ Kittredge, *loc. cit.* Black Magic (designed to cause evil) and White Magic (the purpose of which is to do good) are frequently practiced by the same individual. In North Carolina, as elsewhere, a "witch-doctor" may be also a witch.

the first Europeans on the shores of America, *maleficium* was practiced by the aborigines.⁴ It was a powerful force in the lives of the African negroes who came as slaves to these shores.⁵ It was also known and feared by the colonists who migrated thither from the British Isles and the continent of Europe.⁶ The colonial records

⁴The early settlers of Virginia and North Carolina shared the universal seventeenth-century belief that the Indians, like witches, worshipped the Devil. See John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, London, 1624, p. 34. See further *Works of Captain John Smith*, ed., Arber, Birmingham, 1884, pp. 370, 374. John Lawson, in his *History of Carolina*, printed in 1714, states that the Indians of the new country had a god "which is the Devil," and that the old men brought themselves into great esteem "by making others believe their Familiarity with Devils and Spirits" (*History of North Carolina*, a reprint of Lawson's book, Charlotte, 1903, pp. 30, 119). "These people [the Indian conjurers]," says Dr. John Brickell, writing about 1737, "are great Inchanters, and use many Charms of Witchcraft," and again, "it is reported by several Planters in those parts, that they raise great Storms of Wind, and that there are many frightful Apparitions that appear above the Fires during the time of their *Conjuration*," the latter accompanied by "a strong smell of Brimstone" (*The Natural History of North Carolina*, Dublin, 1737, reprint issued by authority of the Trustees of the Public Libraries, pp. 374, 370). For evidence from New England, see Kittredge, *The Old Farmer and his Almanack*, Boston, 1904, pp. 108 ff., 336, 341.

⁵See, for example, the pertinent remarks of Dr. R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, New York, 1904, p. 274 ff. Cf. Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, London, 1899, p. 156 ff.; Sir Harry Johnston, *George Grenfell, and the Congo*, London, 1 (1908), 35 f., 389 f.

⁶That the colonists brought with them the fundamental doctrines of the witchcraft creed instead of borrowing from the Indians or African slaves or of developing their system independently under the weird influence of their natural surroundings, is easy of demonstration. P. A. Bruce (*Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, New York and London, 1 (1910), 280) cites the case of one Captain Bennett, an Englishman engaged in trade with Virginia, who was summoned before the General Court at Jamestown because in 1659 he had hanged at sea an old woman named Katherine Grady who was suspected of witchcraft. On October 5th of the same year Governor Fendall of Maryland, on the complaint of John Washington of Westmoreland County, Virginia, ordered the arrest of Edward Prescott, the charge being that "ye s'd Prescott hanged a witch on his ship as hee was outward bound from England hither, the last yeare." Pending the hearing of the case by the Provincial Court, Prescott gave bond in the sum of 4,000 pounds of tobacco. On being brought to trial, the defendant admitted that a woman named Elizabeth Richardson was hanged on board his ship, but protested that, although he was both merchant and

of Virginia, whose early history is so closely associated with that of North Carolina,⁷ contain a number of references to witchcraft among the settlers, and at least one fully developed witch trial—that of Grace Sherwood—took place as late as 1705-6 in Princess Anne County,⁸ not far from the border of North Carolina.⁹ From

owner of the vessel, the captain (John Greene) and the crew threatened to mutiny when he opposed their action, and that consequently he was forced to permit the hanging. (E. D. Neill, *Virginia Carolorum*, New York, 1886, 256). That the witchcraft prosecutions in New England during the late seventeenth century were the outcome of beliefs imported from the mother country is shown by Kittredge, *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, XVIII, p. 4, n. 1; p. 49, n. 130; *The Old Farmer and his Almanack*, Boston, 1904, p. 110.

⁷See especially *The Writings of "Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia, Esqr."*, ed., J. S. Bassett, N. Y., 1901, Introdn., p. x f., and Stephen B. Weeks, *Hist. Rev. of the Col. and State Records of North Carolina*, [Raleigh, 1914], p. 4.

⁸From 1637 to 1691 the territory comprised by the present counties of Norfolk and Princess Anne was known as Lower Norfolk County (*Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, Antiquary*, I, 3, n.). For evidence of witchcraft in Lower Norfolk County, see P. A. Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 279 ff.; Burr, *Narratives*, 435 f.

⁹Grace was the daughter of one John White, a carpenter of Lynnhaven parish, and, at the time of her arraignment, was the widow of James Sherwood, of the same district. At various times from the year of her marriage, 1680, till 1708 Grace figures as plaintiff or defendant in some form of action at law. In 1698 two unsuccessful suits for slander brought by James and Grace Sherwood, show that the latter had been accused by John Gisburne of bewitching his hogs and cotton, and by Anthony Barnes of riding his wife and then escaping "out of the Key hole or crack of the door like a black Catt." In 1705-6 Grace was charged with witchcraft by Luke Hill and wife, against whom she had previously brought action for assault and battery. She was examined by a jury of women and found to have on her body certain marks which indicated that she was a witch. The county court having reached the limit of its authority, the case was referred to the General Court at Williamsburg (Cf. 3 Hening, *Statutes*, 389, Chap. 38), whence, for lack of specific evidence, it was returned to the local authorities. The constable and sheriff were then ordered to search "graces House and all Suspicious places Carefully for all Images and Such like things as may any way Strengthen The Suspicion," but the results are not given. It appears, however, that evidence was forthcoming, and in June, 1706, the county court decided that the plaintiff's guilt "Doth very likely appear." In July, 1706, Grace was bound and "tried in the water by ducking." According to the records, she floated. She was then remanded to jail to await further trial, but, if the matter ever came up again, the records are lost. In any case, she did not die in prison. In 1708 she

these facts it should be obvious that such relics of the witchcraft superstition as exist today in North Carolina are but the result of a belief which has from time immemorial formed part of the intellectual heritage of the human race.

An appreciable effect in preserving among the settlers of Virginia and North Carolina a lively faith in the reality of black magic must be attributed to at least one learned source—Michael Dalton's *Countray Justice*, an early seventeenth century handbook of legal

confessed judgment for a debt due Christopher Cocke. She made her will in 1733, and died before October, 1740, when the document was admitted to probate. A number of local traditions are still associated with her name. Fishermen still point out the Witch-Duck, a spot near the mouth of Lynnhaven Inlet, where Grace is said to have undergone her trial by water. There is a story that, instead of returning to jail, she sailed away to England in an egg-shell, the same sort of vessel in which she had originally come to Virginia. According to another tradition, a millstone which was tied to her when she was placed in the water, floated, and she appeared seated upon it. (During the middle ages saints occasionally travelled on floating stones. *Silva Gadelica*, 1892, II, pp. 11, 33; *Irish Texts Soc.*, XVI (1914), 166.) A poem written by W. A. Swank of Norfolk, attributes to Grace what appears to be a purely fanciful early career in England. For the evidence in the Sherwood case, see *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Mag.*, 1895; *Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, Antiquary*, II and III; Burr, *op. cit.*, pp. 438 ff. Cf. W. S. Forrest, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk*, Philadelphia, 1853, p. 464; S. G. Drake, *Annals of Witchcraft in New England and Elsewhere in the United States*, Boston, 1869, pp. 210 ff.; O. P. Chitwood, *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, XXIII, 485, n.; A. M. Gummere, *Witchcraft and Quakerism*, Philadelphia, 1908, p. 37; John Ashton, *The Devil in Britain and America*, London, 1896, p. 313 ff. See further P. A. Bruce, *op. cit.*, I, 278 ff., where evidence on this and other Virginia cases is recorded; and J. C. Wise, *Ye Kingdome of Accawmaoke or the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, Richmond, 1911, p. 47; Burr, *Narratives*, p. 438 ff. Accusations of witchcraft are found in Virginia records as early as 1641. For South Carolina, see Drake, *op. cit.*, p. 215 f.

The ordeal by water, made famous by the seventeenth-century English Witch-Finder General, Matthew Hopkins, is based on the theory that, because of her unclean nature, the witch will not sink in the pure element water, or that, by her connection with Satan, she is rendered preternaturally light. A learned controversy on the subject took place in the eighteenth century between Francis Hutchinson (*An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft* (1718), London, 1720, ch. XI), and Richard Boulton (*The Possibility and Reality of Magic, Sorcery, and Witchcraft Demonstrated, etc.*, London, 1722, ch. VI).

procedure. The book was first printed in 1618 and was often re-edited in Great Britain. It enjoyed wide popularity among the legal profession in the colonies and appears to have been cited as a standard authority during the greater part of the colonial period.¹⁰ In accordance with English law, *The Countrey Justice* declares it a felony "to use or practise Witchcrafts, Enchantment, Charme, or Sorcerie, whereby any person shall be killed, pined, or lamed in any part of their body . . . [or] any cattell or goods shall be destroyed or impaired." "Since," according to the author, "the Justices of peace may not always expect direct evidence," elaborate directions are given for identifying witches, who are pronounced "the most cruell, revengefull, and bloudie" of all sorcerers.¹¹

The prominent place occupied by witchcraft in the minds of the colonists is well illustrated by an incidental reference in John Lawson's *History of Carolina*, an early eighteenth-century compendium of information regarding the inhabitants and natural resources of the province, dedicated to the Lords Proprietors, for whom the author acted as surveyor general. It was printed as early as 1709, and the first separate edition appeared in 1714. Apropos of the attitude of the Indians toward spirits, Lawson refers to the many "Hobgoblins and Bugbears as that we [white men] suck in with our milk, and the foolery of our Nurses and Servants suggest to us; who, by their idle Tales of Fairies and Witches, Make impressions on our tender Years, that at Maturity we carry Pigmies' Souls in Giant Bodies and ever after are thereby so much deprived of reason, and Unmann'd, as never to be Masters

¹⁰ For references to Dalton's book in catalogues of early Virginia libraries, see *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, III, 132; VI, 146; *Wm. and Mary Coll. Qy.*, II, 170; III, 133; VIII, 20, 78. In one case of suspected witchcraft (1675) in Lower Norfolk County (cf. p. 220, n. 8) a jury was ordered "to make deligent search . . . according to the 118 chapter of doulton" (*Wm. and Mary Coll. Qy.*, III, 165). See further *Mass. Records*, II, 212. My colleague, Professor A. P. Scott, to whom I am indebted for these references, assures me that various early Virginia law books quote freely from Dalton.

¹¹ P. 276 f. of the fifth, revised and enlarged, edition, London, 1635. The British Museum catalogue lists more than half-a-dozen editions of Dalton before the middle of the eighteenth century. A summary of the treatment of witchcraft found in the 1655 edition is given by E. L. Linton, *Witch Stories*, London, 1861, p. 182, n.

of half the Bravery Nature designed for us."¹² These words, with a few trivial alterations, are repeated in *The Natural History of North Carolina*, published in 1737 by one Dr. John Brickell,¹³ a physician who is said to have practiced in Edenton about 1730.

The following passage is found in Dr. Joseph Doddridge's *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia & Pennsylvania, from the Year 1763 until the Year 1783, Inclusive, Together with a View of the State of Society and Manners of the First Settlers of the Western Country* (Wellesburgh, Va., 1824, p. 161 ff.).^{13a} It was later incorporated by Mann Butler, an early historian of Kentucky, in his more extensive description of the "Manners and Habits of the Western Pioneers," written about 1836 (ms. *Durrett D 3333*, p. 56 ff.: University of Chicago Library) whence for convenience the present transcript is taken. The data were gathered in northwestern Virginia (near the Kentucky border), but, as Butler observes, the account may be taken as 'a faithful picture of early frontier conditions throughout

¹² *The History of Carolina*, by John Lawson, Gent., London, 1714, reprinted as *History of North Carolina*, Charlotte, 1903. The passage quoted is found on page 118 of the reprint. Lawson may be repeating an old theory rather than speaking from personal observation or experience. John Webster, in his famous *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, written in 1677, blames idle tales heard in youth for much of the belief in witchcraft in his day. (See p. 32 of the first edition.) For an account of the editions of Lawson's *History*, see Weeks, *Am. Rep. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1895, p. 230 f.

¹³ *The Natural History of North Carolina*, by John Brickell, M. D., Dublin, 1737 (Reprint, p. 354). Brickell appropriates almost verbatim and without acknowledgment not only this but many other passages in Lawson's *History*. Attention was called to the plagiarism in the *No. Am. Rev.*, XXIII (N. S. XIV), 1826, p. 288, note, but, as Weeks shows (*Am. Rep. Am. Hist. Assn.*, 1895, p. 234), Brickell's work is "a good deal more than a mere slavish reprint of Lawson."

^{13a} In the copy before me the title-page is lacking. According to Sabin a second edition appeared at Winchester in 1833. Another edition, by Alfred Williams, "with a Memoir of the Author by his Daughter," appeared at Albany in 1876, and parts of the book have been printed several times, but the complete early editions are said to be extremely rare. As the text of the manuscript was in type before I discovered a copy of Dr. Doddridge's book and as the differences between the two are unimportant, I have allowed the former to stand.

the western country generally,' including, of course, the highlands of Carolina.

"The belief in witchcraft," writes Dr. Doddridge, "was prevalent among the settlers of the western country. To the witch was ascribed the tremendous power of inflicting strange and incurable diseases, particularly on children, of destroying cattle by shooting them with hair-balls, and a great variety of other means of destruction; of inflicting spells and curses on guns and other things, and lastly, of changing men into horses, and after bridling and saddling, riding them in full speed over hill and dale to their frolics and other places of rendezvous. Wizards were men supposed to possess the same mischievous powers as the witches; but they were seldom exercised for bad purposes. The powers of wizards were exercised for the purpose of counteracting the malevolent influences of the witches of the other sex. I have known several of these witchmasters, as they were called, who made a public profession of curing the diseases inflicted by the influence of witches; and I have known respectable physicians, who had no greater portion of business, in the line of their profession, than many of these witch-masters had in theirs. . . . Diseases which could not be accounted for nor cured, were usually ascribed to some supernatural agency of a malignant kind. For the cure of the diseases inflicted by witchcraft, the picture of the supposed witch was drawn on a stump or piece of board, and shot at with a bullet containing a little bit of silver. This silver bullet transferred a painful and sometimes a mortal spell on that part of the witch corresponding with the part of the portrait struck by the bullet. The witch had but one way of relieving herself from any spell inflicted on her in this way, which was that of borrowing something, no matter what, of the family to which the subject of the exercise of her witch-craft belonged. I have known several poor old women much surprised at being refused requests which had been usually granted without hesitation, and almost heart-broke when informed of the cause of the refusal. When cattle or hogs were supposed to be under the influence of witchcraft, they were burnt in the forehead by a branding iron, or when dead, burned wholly to ashes. This inflicts a spell upon the witch, that could only be removed by borrowing, as above stated. Witches were often said to milk the cows of their neighbors. This they did by fixing a new pin in a towel for each cow intended to be milked. This towel was hung over her own door, and by means of certain incantations, the milk was extracted from the fringes of the towel, after the manner of milking a cow. This happened when the cows were too poor to give much milk."

R. G. Thwaites, who had at his disposal the valuable Draper manuscript materials on early frontier history, is authority for the assertion that during the latter half of the eighteenth century the inhabitants of Davie County, North Carolina, "firmly believed in the existence of witches" and that "bad dreams, eclipses of the

sun, the howling of dogs and the croaking of ravens" were sure prologues to coming disaster.¹⁴

Testimony of a more satisfactory character is furnished by the autobiography of Rev. Brantley York, who was born in 1805. York states that during the early nineteenth century the inhabitants of the Bush Creek district in Randolph County, where he spent part of his boyhood, "believed in Witchcraft, Ghost-seeing, haunted houses and fortune telling." "When the neighbors came together," he continues, "the most prominent topic of conversation was relating some remarkable witch tales, ghost stories and conjurations of various kinds; and so interesting was (sic) these stories that the conversation often continued until a very late hour at night. Often have I sat and listened to these stories till it seemed to me that each hair upon my head resembled the quill of a porcupine. I was afraid to go out of doors, afraid to go to bed alone, and almost afraid of my own shadow."¹⁵ A striking instance of the influence exerted by witchcraft on the country people of western North Carolina at a somewhat later date is furnished by Mr. Charles L. Coon, of Wilson, to whom the writer is indebted for the use of his collectanea. The events occurred during the second quarter of the last century in "an isolated section of Lincoln County originally settled by Germans and a few English." The account as given by Mr. Coon is as follows:

"My father, who was born in 1834, has often told me that one of his earliest recollections centered around the death of a young neighbor boy who received no other medical attention to aid him in combatting a severe

¹⁴ R. G. Thwaites, *Daniel Boone*, New York, 1902, p. 32.

¹⁵ *The Autobiography of Brantley York* (John Lawson Monographs of the Trinity College Historical Society, 1), Durham, 1910, p. 8 f. Of conditions during the early nineteenth century in Bedford County, Virginia, Dr. J. B. Jeter (born 1802) writes: "Story-telling was one of the common amusements of the times; and these stories usually related to witches, hags, giants, prophetic dreams, ghosts and the like. The dread of jack-o'-lanterns, graveyards and ghosts was quite common, and extended much beyond the avowed belief in their reality. Haunted spots were quite common, to which timid passengers usually gave a wide berth in the night. Ghosts were not unfrequently seen gliding about in the twilight, or in the moonshine, clothed in white." He then tells the story of how he himself once came near seeing a ghost. For the whole passage, see Wm. E. Hatcher, *Life of J. B. Jeter, D. D.*, Baltimore, 1887, p. 36 f. I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Wm. E. Dodd, for calling my attention to this book.

case of typhoid fever than that supplied by the neighboring witch doctor. This boy's parents were ignorant and superstitious, and believed in witches and in the powers witches were supposed to possess. When their young son fell sick, they imagined he had been bewitched; so the doctor was sent for. He came and told the parents that their surmisings were correct, that witches had certainly caused the sickness of their child. Confidingly the parents permitted the witch doctor to have his way, and the treatment for 'witches' was immediately begun. First, the 'doctor' ordered the return of all borrowed property to the owners and also ordered that the parents of the sick boy call in everything which happened to have been borrowed from them. These orders embraced everything, and one neighbor was very much inconvenienced by having to return a log-chain which he was using and could not at the time replace without purchasing a new one. But finally all borrowed property was in place, and then the doctor proceeded to treat the bewitched boy. For several weeks he visited the patient and put him through many physical calisthenics, all the while uttering in a low voice what appeared to be magic words or incantations in Pennsylvania Dutch to drive away the spell wrought by the witches. But no one understood or could interpret the magic words which were used. Days passed and the child finally died. The witch doctor then reluctantly admitted that the spell of the witches was beyond his power. The death of this young child under such circumstances seems not to have caused any great public indignation at the time. Only upon a few persons in the neighborhood did this death make any lasting impression, so general was the belief in witches."

Judge G. A. Shuford told Mr. J. P. Arthur of a reputed witch known as "Granny" Weiss or Weice, who lived on the French Broad River, near the mouth of Davidson's River, about a century ago. On being consulted by a man named Johnson who was suffering from gravel, she informed the patient that unless he returned several hundred dollars which, as she happened to know, he had stolen from a cattle buyer, he could not be cured. Johnson accordingly restored the money, but whether he was healed of his ailment is not told. In any case, the story of the theft got abroad, and he was forced to leave the neighborhood.¹⁶

As will appear from the following pages, a considerable body of testimony is available for the study of the witchcraft superstition in North Carolina during the last half century.

Although in North Carolina the term witch, true to its historical usage, is still applied to either sex, now, as of yore, more women than men are accused of dabbling in the black art.¹⁷ The following

¹⁶ J. P. Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, Raleigh, 1914, p. 342.

¹⁷ King James I. was merely repeating an older tradition when, in his

account, furnished by Mr. G. T. Stephenson, formerly of Pendleton, North Carolina, concerns a woman who was reputed to be a witch.¹⁸

"The early years of Phœbe Ward, witch, are shrouded in mystery. It is known that she was a woman of bad morals. No one seemed to know anything of her past. She was an old, old woman when this account begins.

"Phœbe Ward had no fixed home. She lived here and there, first at one place and then at another in Northampton County, North Carolina. She stayed in a hut or any shelter whatsoever that was granted her.

"She made her living by begging from place to place. Most people were afraid to refuse her, lest she should apply her witchcraft to them. When she found a house at which people were particularly kind to her, there she stopped and abused their kindness. Hence the people resorted to a number of methods to keep her away. For instance, when they saw her coming, they would stick pins point-up into the chair-bottoms, and then offer her one of these chairs. It is said that she could always tell when the chair was thus fixed, and would never sit in it. Also, they would throw red pepper into the fire, and Phœbe would leave as soon as she smelled it burning. . . .

"Among her arts it is said that she could ride persons at night (the same as nightmares), that she could ride horses at night, and that when the mane was tangled in the morning it was because the witch had made stirrups of the plaits. She was said to be able to go through key-holes, and to be able to make a horse jump across a river as if it were a ditch. She was credited with possessing a sort of grease which she could apply, and then slip out of her skin and go out on her night rambles, and on her return get back again. It is said that once she was making a little bull jump across the river, and as she said, 'Through thick, through thin; 'way over in the hagerleen,' the animal rose and started. When he was about half way over, she said, 'That was a damn'd good jump,' and down the bull came into the river. (The witch is not to speak while she is crossing.)"¹⁹

famous treatise on *Daemonologie* (1597), he asserted that during the sixteenth century female witches were largely in the majority (See p. 116 of the 1616 edn.). See further Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), ed., B. Nicholson, London, 1886, p. 93. Cf. Jules Bois, *Le Satanisme et la Magie*, Paris, 1895, especially Chap. II.

¹⁸ As printed, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXII (1909), 252 f. The version here given is the source of Miss Elizabeth A. Lay's drama, "When Witches Ride," printed in the University of North Carolina *Magazine*, April, 1919.

¹⁹ In an Irish folk-tale recorded by B. Hunt (*Folk Tales of Breffny*, Macmillan, 1912, p. 11), an old man mounted on a yearling calf, rides out one night with a band of fairy-folk, or "good people." "It wasn't long before they came to a big lake that had an island in the middle of it. With one spring the whole party landed on the island and with another

"To keep the witch away people nailed horse-shoes with the 'toe up over the stable-doors. To keep her from riding persons at night, they hung up sieves over the door. The witch would have to go through all the meshes before she could enter, and by the time she could get through, it would be day, and she would be caught.

"Phœbe came near meeting a tragic death before her allotted time was out. One night several men of the neighborhood gathered around a brandy-barrel. As the liquor flowed, their spirits rose, and they were on the lookout for some fun. They went over to where Phœbe was staying and found her asleep. Thinking she was dead, they shrouded her, and proceeded to hold the wake. They were soon back at their demijohns, and while they were standing in one corner of the room drinking, there came a cracked, weak voice from the other corner, where the supposed corpse was lying out, 'Give me a little; it's mighty cold out here.' They all fled but one,—Uncle Bennie,—and he was too drunk to move. When things became quiet and Phœbe repeated her request, he said, 'Hush, you damn'd b—h, I'm goin' to bury you in the mornin'.' The others were afraid to return that night, but did so the next morning, and found Bennie and Phœbe sitting before the fire, contented, warm, and drinking brandy.

"After this Phœbe lived several years, making her livelihood by begging. Her last days were as mysterious as her early life had been."

Like her kinswomen of the past, the modern female witch, though generally old, is not always so. A batch of witch lore received in 1908 from an old negro woman in southeastern Virginia contains the information that the black art is sometimes practiced by young girls. That the ancient principle, *si saga sit mater, sic etiam est filia*, still holds good, is illustrated by an account of the daughter of a North Carolina witch, who, while accompanying her mother on one of her midnight rambles, got into serious trouble.²⁰ The witch of today is also like her ancestors in having certain physical peculiarities which differentiate her

they were safe on the far shore. 'Damn, but that was a great lep for a yearling calf,' said Paddy. With that one of the Good People struck him a blow on the head, the way the sense was knocked out of him and he fell on the field."

²⁰ For the story, see *J. A. F.-L.*, xxii (1909), 251. In connection with the trial of witches at Lancaster, England, in 1612, a girl of fourteen confessed that one night she had been carried by her grandmother and aunt (two witches) to the house of one Thomas Walshman (Thomas Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, London, 1851, II, 129; cf. 140). Cf. Burr, *Narratives*, 345. Children, as well as adults, were formerly executed for witchcraft. See A. F. Chamberlain, *The Child and Childhood in Folk Thought*, N. Y., 1896, 323.

from the common run of womankind. According to the old negro just referred to, a witch's breasts are situated under her arms, and the skin about her neck resembles a collar.²¹ The witch of the seventeenth century also bore on her body certain marks or teats which were the seal of her compact with Satan²² or were sucked by her familiar demons and which were often used by courts of justice as means of identification.²³ Reginald Scot, who deserves high honor for having raised his voice against the well nigh universal belief in witchcraft during the sixteenth century, asserts that in his day (his famous *Discoverie of Witchcraft* was published in 1584), a suspected witch who had "anie privie marke under her arm pokes" was regarded by the courts as guilty.²⁴ The following is according to Dalton: "Their [witches'] . . . familiar hath some big or little teat upon their body, & in some secret place, where hee sucketh them. And besides their sucking, the Devil leaveth other marks upon their body, sometimes like a blew spot, or red spot, like a Flea-biting . . . And these the Devills markes be insensible, & being pricked will not bleed, & be often in their secretest parts, and therefore require diligent and carefull search."²⁵ As lately as 1706 Grace Sherwood, on trial for witchcraft before the court of Princess Anne County, Virginia, was examined by a jury of women and found to have "two things like titts on her private parts of a Black Coller, being Blacker than the Rest of her Body." According to the old woman who furnished the information about the witch-marks, a male witch will not look you in the

²¹ Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, xxii, 251.

²² An old song, said to have been current for more than a hundred years in central North Carolina, refers to the sign placed by the Devil on the forehead of those "that he claims for his own." Mrs. E. M. Backus, the collector, says, "I have heard before of the two marks of Satan, one in the head and one in the hand, I believe, of this shape \mp " (*J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 291). The mark by which the devil brands witches is referred to in a seventeenth century pamphlet of instructions to jurymen (See below, p. 230, n. 26).

²³ See Notestein, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 155. Cf. King James I, *Daemonologie*, 1616 edn., p. 105; Matthew Hopkins, *Discovery of Witches*, 1647, 3 f.; Joseph Glanville, *Sadducismus Triumphatus* (on which see below, p. 230, n. 27), 4th edn., London, 1726, pp. 295, 298 f.; S. G. Drake, *op. cit.*, 80 f.; Burr, *Narratives*, pp. 344, 436, n. 1.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, 21.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 277.

face, a habit which, Scot asserts,²⁶ was attributed to all witches in the sixteenth century.

In North Carolina, where, as in other Christian communities, the Devil is ever ready to deceive the unwary, license to practice witchcraft is often received directly from his Satanic Majesty, who in exchange takes a mortgage on the soul of the pupil as he did on that of Doctor Faustus hundreds of years ago.²⁷ The story told

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 16, 20. According to sixteenth-century opinion a witch cannot weep (Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 22). The tests applied to witches by seventeenth-century English courts are given by Robert Filmer in *An Advertisement to the Jury-Men of England touching Witches* (1652), London, 1680, p. 304 ff. Cf. Burr, *Narratives*, p. 304, n. 5.

²⁷ The articles of the demon contract are discussed along with a detailed exposition of the whole science of black magic in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, or "Witch-Hammer" (published in 1486), perhaps the most famous handbook of witchcraft ever written. See the 1620 (London) edition, i, 27, 148, 160; ii, Part ii, 37, 372, 382. Cf. A. M. Pratt, *The Attitude of the Catholic Church toward Witchcraft*, etc., Washington (D. C.), 1915, p. 57. Various phases of the witchcraft superstition are seriously discussed from the standpoint of seventeenth-century metaphysics and natural philosophy by that famous enemy of the Devil and his earthy servants, Joseph Glanvill, Fellow of the Royal Society and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty King Charles II., in a tract entitled *Some Philosophical Considerations Touching the Being of Witches and Witchcraft* (1666). See pp. 15 ff. of the second edition, London, 1667. Glanvill's arguments for the existence of witches are repeated in *A Blow at Modern Sadducism in Some Philosophical Considerations about Witchcraft* (See pp. 15 ff. of the fourth edition, corrected and enlarged, London, 1668), and are set forth more fully in his still well-known *Sadducismus Triumphatus: A Full and Plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions*, first published in 1681 (See pp. 6 ff. of the fourth [1726] edition). On Glanvill's importance in the history of English witchcraft, see Kittredge, *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, xviii, 13. Glanvill's attempt to prove scientifically the reality of the demon contract, animal transformation, and other tenets of the witchcraft creed, was answered by John Webster in *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, London, 1677. See further Alexander Roberts, *A treatise on Witchcraft*, London, 1616, p. 28 ff.; John Wagstaffe, *The Question of Witchcraft Debated*, 2d edn., London, 1671, p. 101 ff. Cf. Paul Carus, *History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil*, Chicago, 1900, p. 414 ff. For other early evidence, see Wright, *Narratives*, ii, pp. 88, 96, 114 f., 151, 153; *Daemonologia: A Discourse on Witchcraft as it was Acted in the Family of Mr. Edward Fairfax, of Fuyaston, in the County of York, in the Year 1621*, ed., W. Grainge, Harrogate, 1882, pp. 40 ff. Cf. Scot, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.; Grimm, *Deut. Mythol.*, 4th edn., Berlin, 1876, ii, 894 f.; Karl Knortz, *Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete amerikanischer Volkskunde*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 130 ff.; Ashton, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 ff.

below was related to Mr. Thomas Smith, of Zionville, North Carolina, by Sam Guy, an uneducated man of some sixty-five years, who has spent most of his life in the mountains. Sam is known as a successful squirrel hunter and a great digger of 'sang' (ginseng). He is a firm believer in witchcraft and can justify his faith by a large number of authentic cases, of which the following is a sample:

"Ye know Eph Tucker that used to live on the Hashion? Well, he wuz all'us counted a mighty truthful man, and he used to tell me a sight o' tales about witches. He said when he lived down in Ashe, there was a man named Ferro who shore could bewitch people. . . . One day [Eph.] says to Ferro, says he, 'I want to learn to bewitch folks like you can.' Ferro kindly agreed to show him how to be a witch. He says, 'You come with me out in the road.' They went out in the wagin road, and Ferro tuck a stick and made a ring in the dirt. 'Now you git in that ring,' says Ferro. Eph, he got in the ring. 'Now squat down,' says Ferro. Eph, he squatted down. 'Now,' says Ferro, 'put one hand under yer right foot and tother hand on top o' yer head.'²² Well, Eph put one hand under his foot and tother on top o' his head. 'Now,' says Ferro, 'you say ater me: "Devil take me, ring and all."' Eph said he wuz a-gittin' a little bit skeered by this time, but he said what ole Ferro told him—"Devil take me, ring and all"—and about that time the ground begin to sink right under him. Eph says he felt himself a-goin' right down. He shore was skeered by this time, and he give a jump right out o' the ring and run from that place as hard as he could.²³ He didn't turn his head to look back. Ater that Eph said he never tried to be a witch any more."

Judged by the following passage from Dalton, old Ferro's instructions combine the practice of witchcraft with that of conjury, between which the legal authority is careful to distinguish. Whereas the witch deals with the Devil "rather by a friendly and voluntarie conference or agreement between him (or her) and the devill or familiar," conjurers "beleeve by certain terrible words, that they can raise the Devill, and make him to tremble; and by impailing themselves in a circle (which as one saith, cannot keep

²² In 1678 Annabil Stuart, tried for witchcraft at Paisley, Scotland, confessed that as part of the ceremony of giving herself to the Devil, "she put her hand to the crown of her head, and the other to the sole of her foot." Glanvill, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

²³ On the circle as a protection against the powers of evil, see F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore Collected from the Oral Tradition of English Speaking People*, Boston and N. Y., 1899, p. 13.

out a mouse) they beleeve that they are therein insconsed, and safe from the Devill whom they are about to raise."³⁰

Among the mountain whites of the southern Alleghanies it was possible some twenty years since for a man to acquire forbidden knowledge by "scouring a tin or pewter plate in some secret place, and giving himself to the Devil by saying, 'I will be as clean of Jesus Christ as this dish is of dirt.'"³¹ In Knott County, Kentucky, said to have been settled by emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina, a woman may become a witch by taking a handkerchief and gun, ascending the highest neighboring mountain before sunrise, and proceeding as follows: "Just as the fiery ball appears above the eastern horizon, with uttered imprecations against Deity and prayers to the Devil, she is to shoot a bullet through the handkerchief as she holds it up toward the rising sun. If blood flows from the torn cloth, she is an accepted member of the witches' crew."³² The ratification of the compact, here shown by the bleeding of the handkerchief, is generally indicated by other means. The method of procedure adopted in the following account from Scott County, east Tennessee, has the sanction of a long line of tradition. The narrator, an old white man, said that on one occasion he had stolen and used some white powder which formed part of the stock in trade of a witch. Later he met "a very small, dark-haired, red-complected man" who said, "You have used some of my material, and now you must put your name in my book." The trembling mortal wrote his name with his own blood in the stranger's book, but he must have desisted from using the diabolical stuff, for the Devil never came to claim his victim.³³

The examination of Elizabeth Style, of Stoke Trister, Somerset, before an English justice in 1664, shows that the ceremony

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 279.

³¹ J. A. Porter, "Folk-Lore of the Mountain Whites of the Alleghanies," *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 107.

³² H. G. Shearin, "Some Superstitions of the Cumberland Mountains," *J. A. F.-L.*, xxiv (1911), 320. Cf. Notestein, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

³³ *J. A. F.-L.*, xiii (1900), 210. Compare the story of the little girl and the Devil in "Negro Folk Lore and Witchcraft in the South," *J. A. F.-L.*, iii (1890), 203. It would be surprising if the tale of "The Devil and Tom Walker," known elsewhere in the United States, is not preserved in North Carolina. Cf. Karl Knortz, *Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete amerikanischer Volkskunde*, p. 130 f.

described above finds good authority in seventeenth century practice. The defendant confessed that the Devil had appeared to her "in the shape of a handsome Man, and after of a black Dog," and had offered her wealth and happiness for twelve years if she would "sign his Paper," observe his laws, and let him suck her blood. When she agreed, "he prick'd the fourth Finger of her Right-hand, between the middle and upper Joint, (where the sign at the Examination remained) and with a Drop or two of her Blood, she signed the Paper with an [O]. Upon this, the Devil gave her Sixpence, and vanish'd with the paper."³⁴

The modern American witch, though perhaps not quite so malignant as her predecessors, is fully equipped with a wide range of uncanny powers. Like the witches of all time, she is a shape-shifter of astonishing versatility. According to Rev. Brantley York,³⁵ the inhabitants of Randolph County, North Carolina, a century ago believed that witches could transform themselves into any variety of bird or beast, but it is probable that then as now North Carolina witches assumed by preference the form of special animals.³⁶

From ancient times the cat has been regarded as endowed with supernatural qualities,³⁷ and has been associated with practitioners of the black art. To kill a cat is everywhere bad luck.³⁸ It is also

³⁴ Glanvill, *op. cit.*, p. 295. Frequently the Devil's wages turn out to be worthless, as in a negro story from Guilford County, North Carolina. The Devil gave a fiddler fifty cents for playing two tunes, but the man, on reaching home, discovered that he had nothing in his pocket but filth (*J. A. F.-L.*, xxx [1917], 180).

³⁵ *Autobiog.*, p. 8.

³⁶ The following comes from Guilford County. A farmer who was at enmity with one of his neighbors discovered that a large white horse was destroying his tobacco. "So he made up his mind to stop it that night. He went to de fence an' gathered him up a rail, an' sot down. An' when de horse come, an' at full speed, he knocked it backuds with the rail. It was that other man's wife he foun' layin' over the other side of the fence a-shiverin'."—Negro. (*J. A. F.-L.*, xxx [1917], 186.)

³⁷ On demon cats, see [Harvard] *Studies & Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, viii (1903), 259, n. 2; Grimm, *Deut. Mythol.*, 4th edn., Berlin, 1876, II, 873. On animal demons, see M. D. Conway, *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, 3d edn., New York, 1889, I, 121 ff. Cf. A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (3d edn., by E. H. Meyer), Berlin, 1900, p. 151.

³⁸ For evidence from the mountains of North Carolina, see *J. A. F.-L.*, xx (1907), 245.

unlucky to sleep with ⁴⁰ or even cross the path of a cat.⁴⁰ Cats suck the breath of sleeping infants ⁴¹ and sometimes mutilate corpses.⁴² It is good luck for a cat to come to the house,⁴³ but in North Carolina, when a family moves, the cat should never be taken.⁴⁴ Tails, skins, and bones of black cats are widely used both in witchcraft and in popular preventive medicine.⁴⁵ During the great flourishing period of European witchcraft the cat often served as a disguise for the witch's familiar and even for the hag herself.⁴⁶ Today North Carolina witches often appear in the form of cats, and with the worst witches known to the mountain whites of the Alleghanies lycanthropy is common.⁴⁷ In a story told by a negress in Baltimore, Maryland, two white ladies of apparently irreproachable life who were wont to slip out of their skins and sally forth nightly and who were not cured of their shape-shifting propensities until salt was rubbed on their raw hides, always assumed the form of cats before scampering up the chimney.⁴⁸ Cats as familiars of

⁴⁰ *J. A. F.-L.*, XII (1899), 268 (Ga.).

⁴¹ *Southern Workman and Hampton School Quarterly*, XLI (1913), 246. See further p. 235, n. 49, below.

⁴² *J. A. F.-L.*, XII (1899), 268 (Ga.).

⁴³ F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 81. Cf. E. H. Meyer, *Badisches Volksleben*, Strassburg, 1900, p. 584.

⁴⁴ *J. A. F.-L.*, XI (1898), 12 (Md.).

⁴⁵ *J. A. F.-L.*, XX (1907), 244. Among the Cumberland Mountains it is good luck to find a cat of three colors, and, as long as you keep one, the house will not burn down (E. B. Miles, *The Spirit of the Mountains*, N. Y., 1905, p. 104).

⁴⁶ *J. A. F.-L.*, xv (1902), 191 (Washington, D. C.); XXII (1909), 255; F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 71. Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, XI (1898), 12; W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine* (Publins. of the Folk-Lore Soc., XII), I., 1883, p. 151.

⁴⁷ "These Witches have ordinarily a familiar spirit, which appeareth to them; sometimes in one shape, sometimes in another; as in the shape of a Man, Woman, Boy, Dogge, Cat, Foale, Fowle, Hare, Rat, Toad, &c. And to these their spirits they give names, and they meete together to christen them." Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 277. See further Notestein, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 327; Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Glanvill, *Sad. Triumph.*, pp. 298, 334, 398.

⁴⁸ *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 114 f. Cf. Harvard *Studies & Notes*, VIII (1903), 169, n. 1, 260 ff.; Sir Walter Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 211 ff.; John Webster, *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, edn. cit., pp. 33, 91; Reginald Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁴⁹ *J. A. F.-L.*, XII (1899), 145 f. Scot (*op. cit.*, p. 73) cites the case of three witches who transformed themselves into cats to bedevil a faggot-

witches figure in Harrison Ainsworth's *Lancashire Witches* and in Miss Mary Johnston's *Witch*; and stories of the same general type as Joel Chandler Harris's well-known "Plantation Witch" frequently represent the "hant" as appearing in the form of a cat.⁴⁹ The following tale from Northampton County, of which a Guilford County version has already been published,⁵⁰ is furnished by Mr. G. T. Stephenson:

"An old house was haunted and nobody would stay in it. At last a foolhardy negro, under a wager, undertook to spend the night in the house. Soon after he had put the light out and gone to bed he saw sitting on the foot of the bed a big black cat with eyes that looked like moons, licking his whiskers. The cat mewed, 'There ain't nobody here but you and me, is there?' The negro rose up and said, 'Naw, and there ain't gwine to be nobody here but you long.' And with that he went out the window, taking the window-sash with him, and down the road like a streak of lightning. Having run out of breath the negro sat down on a log beside the road to rest. Looking up and towards the other end of the log he saw the same black cat sitting there. And the cat mewed, 'That was a right good race we had.' With that, the negro said, 'Dat ain't nothin' to what we's gwine to have,' and lit out again. The next morning those who had made the wager went to the haunted house to see what had happened and found the window-sash gone and no signs of the negro. Two or three days afterwards the negro came straggling in all bedraggled and with his clothes half torn off him. One of them asked him where he had been the last two or three days and he answered, 'I've been comin' back.'"⁵¹

maker. Their victim, "having hurt them all with a faggot sticke, was like to have been put to death."

⁴⁹ The witch's familiar, when a cat, is generally black, and all cats of that color are more or less possessed. Nevertheless, when a witch assumes the form of a cat, the animal is not necessarily black. See *J. A. F.-L.*, iv (1891), 324; viii (1895), 252 (S. C.); x (1897), 76; xii (1899), 145 (Md.); xiii (1900), 227 (Ga., negro). Among the negroes of tidewater Georgia and South Carolina witches derive their power from the possession of a particular bone from the body of a black cat (*So. Workman*, xxxiv [1905], 634 f.; *J. A. F.-L.*, xxvii [1914], 247). In the mountains of North Carolina, "if a cat sits down among a crowd of girls, the one she looks at will marry first" (*J. A. F.-L.*, xx (1907), 245). The *Chicago American* for May 8, 1915, records the case of an English maidservant who hesitated to sail on the ill-fated "Lusitania" because she had seen a black cat before going aboard. Late in the sixteenth century certain Scottish witches caused a terrible storm at sea by throwing a cat into the water (*News from Scotland*, etc., 1591 [Roxburghe Club, 1816]).

⁵⁰ *J. A. F.-L.*, xxx, 195.

⁵¹ During the writer's boyhood another version of this story was widely known throughout eastern Virginia and North Carolina through the telling of the popular entertainer, Polk Miller.

The demon cat in Mr. Stephenson's story may not have been a transmogrified witch, but the case is perfectly clear in the following negro story from Guilford County, North Carolina, which represents one of the multitudinous forms of the well-nigh worldwide motif of the defence of a house against a haunting goblin. The theme is embodied in the famous account of Beowulf's fight with Grendel in Hrothgar's hall, and Harris has an interesting variant in his *Daddy Jake the Runaway*.

"Der was a man owned a mill, an' he couldn't stay at it late. Something would run him away. One day an ol' traveller (var., preacher) came along, an' asked him what would he give him to stay dere dat night. He said he would give him mos' anything if he would stay. So he went in, an' takin' (leg. taken?) his book, his Bible, an' surd, an' sat down an' kimminced a-readin'. It was eight or nine cats came in 'rectly after dark, an' staid there until gettin' late. An' one of them made a drive at de man, an' he up with his surd an' cut his right front foot off. An' dey all left then. Nex' mornin' he went up to de house fur breakfast. An' de miller he was gettin' breafas'. His wife was not able. He wanted to know what was de trouble. He said she was cuttin' a ham-bone in two an' hurt her han'. He showed the man a ring, an' asked him would he own it. He said he would. He said that was his wife ring he bought him [her(?)] befo' dey was married. So they went in de room an' asked her was dat her ring. She said it was not. Then they looked, an' her right han' was cut off at de wrist." ²

For the sake of convenience we may here consider an extraordinary document in which a house is rendered uninhabitable by the machinations of a shape-shifting witch. In a volume of more than three hundred pages the author—one M. V. Ingram—records, partly in his own, partly in the words of others, a series of fear-some happenings which illustrate several points of the witchcraft superstition as it existed a century ago in North Carolina and

² *J. A. F.-L.*, xxx, 196. For another excellent version, from the Big Smoky Mountains, see *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 115. Here the mill is haunted with a single witch-cat, but in an account from Chestertown, Maryland, a mill is haunted by "a lot of black cats," one of which turns out to be the miller's wife when one of its front paws is cut off by the watcher (*J. A. F.-L.*, xii (1899), 68 f.). Scot (*op. cit.*, p. 72) tells of a man who, while in the form of a wolf, "had his wolves feet cut off, and in a moment . . . became a man without hands or feet." For other parallels, see *Harvard Studies and Notes*, viii, 227, n. 2. Mills have long been favorite haunts of supernatural beings. Robin Goodfellow frequents mills (*Percy Soc.*, ix, 114).

eastern Tennessee. The title-page reads: AN AUTHENTICATED HISTORY OF THE FAMOUS *BELL WITCH*. *The Wonder of the 19th Century, and Unexplained Phenomenon of the Christian Era.* The Mysterious Talking Goblin that Terrorized the West End of Robertson County, Tennessee, Tormenting John Bell to His Death. THE STORY OF BETSY BELL, HER LOVER AND THE HAUNTING SPHINX. Copyrighted, 1894, By M. V. INGRAM, CLARKSVILLE, TENN. Clarksville, Tenn.: Wm. P. Titus, Agt., Printer and Binder.⁵³

The book gives what purports to be an accurate account of the experiences of certain members of the family of John Bell, who in 1804 moved to Robertson County, Tennessee,⁵⁴ from Halifax County, North Carolina. The author affirms that he "only assumes to compile the data, formally presenting the history of this greatest of all mysteries, just as the matter is furnished to hand, written by Williams Bell, a member of the family, some fifty years ago, together with other corroborative testimony by men of irreproachable character and unquestionable veracity" (p. 6 f.). Appended to Mr. Ingram's compilation are detailed reports of interviews with his informants, several letters from persons able to speak with authority, and an extended history of "Our Family Trouble" by Richard Williams, son of the unfortunate John Bell.

Mr. Ingram declines to propound any theory regarding the cause of the phenomena he records, nor has he, he affirms, "any opinion to advance concerning witchcraft, sorcery, spiritualism or psychology in any form"; yet he devotes a chapter of thirty pages to the presentation of a mass of evidence tending to establish the reality of supernatural phenomena. He cites the Bible and John Wesley, Richard Watson, Adam Clarke, and other commentators, as well as several modern instances, of which the mysterious "rocking of Dr. William Smith's cradle, which occurred in 1840, in Lynchburg, Va.," may serve as an example.

⁵³ In the copy before me a slip of paper bearing the words SETLIFF & Co., NASHVILLE, TENN., is pasted over the name of the printer and that of the place of publication.

⁵⁴ According to the author, the Bell homestead was situated on the south bank of the Red River, about a mile from the spot now occupied by Adams Station, the latter being some forty miles north of Nashville, on the southeastern branch of the Louisville and Nashville (the old Edgefield and Kentucky) Rail Road (pp. 17, 37).

After a brief sketch of the social and religious life of the simple, frontier community in which the Bell family settled, Mr. Ingram describes a long series of persecutions which John Bell and his daughter Betsy suffered at the hands of an invisible being who took up its abode at the Bell homestead and made itself a general nuisance.⁵⁵ It first revealed its presence in 1817, and, when questioned regarding its origin, claimed to have come from North Carolina. Sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by four other airy personages denominated Blackdog, Mathematics, Cypocryphy, and Jerusalem,⁵⁶ it filled the house with wild laughter, profane language, and coarse jests. The smacking of unseen lips and strange sounds "like rats gnawing the bed posts . . . dogs fighting . . . or trace chains dragging over the floor" made sleep impossible. Covers were pulled from the beds, chairs were overturned, "chunks of wood and stones" fell unexpectedly in the path of the farm laborers, ghostly lights flitted around the house, and various members of the family were struck by unseen hands. At times the demonic family sang sweetly, and the "witch" quoted Scripture with astonishing accuracy. In 1817 "Mr. Bell, while walking through his corn field, was confronted by a strange animal, unlike any he had ever seen, sitting in a corn row, gazing steadfastly at him as he approached nearer. He concluded that it was probably a dog, and having his gun in hand, shot at it, when the animal ran off. Some days after, in the late afternoon, Drew Bell observed a very large fowl, which he supposed to be a wild turkey, as it perched upon the fence, and ran in the house for a gun to kill it. As he approached within shooting distance, the bird flapped its wings and sailed away, and then he was mystified in discovering that it was not a turkey, but some unknown bird of extraordinary size. Betsy walked out one evening soon after this

"At intervals the "witch" frequented other places in the community, among them Fort's mill, about a mile from John Bell's house. The machinery was often heard running at night after the miller had left the building (p. 61).

"Anonymos, Dicke, Bonjour, Wilkin, Lustie Jollie-Jenkin, Corner-Cap, Pippin, and such like appear in a list of names of devils from Harsnet's *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (L., 1603), famous because of its association with Shakespeare's *King Lear* (cf. *N. & Q.*, Sec. Ser., VII [1859], 144). See further Ashton, *The Devil in Britain and America*, p. 160 ff.

with the children, among the big forest trees near the house, and saw something which she described as a pretty little girl dressed in green, swinging to a limb of a tall oak. Then came Dean, the [negro] servant, reporting that a large black dog came in the road in front of him at a certain place, every night that he visited his wife Kate, who belonged to Alex. Gunn [a neighbor], and trotted along before him to the cabin door and then disappeared" (p. 25).⁵⁷ "The Goblin's favorite form, however, was that of a rabbit, . . . the hare ghost took malicious pleasure in hopping out into the road, showing itself to every one who passed through [the lane in front of the house]." ⁵⁸

Witch-doctors and other persons attempted repeatedly to discover the cause of the strange events, but to no purpose. "The want of some satisfactory explanation or the failure of all investigators to throw light on the witch mystery, gave rise to the speculative idea that John and Drew Bell had learned ventriloquism and some subtle art. . . , and taught the same to their sister Betsy, for the purpose of attracting people and making money" (p. 41), but, as investigation showed, it was no such matter.

The unseen visitor's own account of itself was far from satisfactory. At one time it claimed to be the spirit of a child buried in North Carolina. At another it was a disturbed ghost seeking a lost tooth under the Bell house. When, however, the flooring was removed and the dirt sifted, no tooth was found, and a mocking voice from the air declared it was "all a joke to fool 'Old Jack'," as the "witch" called John Bell. On another occasion it was the ghost of an early settler, come back to reveal the whereabouts of hid treasure; but the money was not found, and the "witch"

"Later in the book the author gives an account of an interview with the negro's sister-in-law, in which the latter said that Dean carried a "witch-ball" to protect him from evil influences, and that the dog, when seen by him on another occasion, had two heads (p. 222).

"This same rabbit," adds Mr. Ingram with a faint suggestion of humor, "is there plentifully to this day, and can't be exterminated. Very few men know a witch rabbit; only experts can distinguish it from the ordinary molly cotton tail. The experts in that section, however, are numerous, and no one to this good day will eat a rabbit that has a black spot on the bottom of its felt hind foot. When the spot is found, the foot is carefully cut off and placed in the hip pocket, and the body buried on the north side of an old log" (p. 57).

ridiculed the seekers. Again it called itself "old Kate Batts' witch," an appellation by which it was afterwards known.

Kate Batts was a sort of gigantic Mrs. Malaprop, whose propensity for using long words and whose evil tongue made her at once the laughing stock and the terror of the neighborhood. After the "witch's" assertion it was recalled not only that Mrs. Batts had an old grudge against John Bell, but also that certain events connected with her history savored strongly of witchcraft. She had a habit of "begging a brass pin of every woman she met, which trifle," adds the author, "was supposed to give her power over the donor" (p. 63). "The most incontrovertible evidence [however] was that a certain girl in the vicinity was given the task of churning, and after working the dasher diligently for two hours without reward, and no sign of butter coming, she declared that old Kate Batts had bewitched the milk and she determined to burn her. Carrying out this decision, she stuck an iron poker in the fire, and after it had come to a white heat, she soused the iron into the milk, setting the churn away; then making some excuse for the visit, she called on Aunt Kate to ascertain the result of her experiment, and found Mrs. Batts sitting in the corner nursing a burnt hand, which had been badly blistered through a mistake in taking the poker by the hot end that morning" (p. 69 f.). Mrs. Batts violently denied all connection with the Bell "witch," and the matter was never brought to a test.

Whatever may have been the cause of the phenomena described by Mr. Ingram, the persecution of the "witch" brought naught but sorrow to the Bells. The father became despondent and in 1820 died; Betsy was forced to give up her lover, and the household was finally broken up.

The following clipping, taken apparently from the query column of the Nashville, Tennessee, *Banner*, has some bearing on the events described in Mr. Ingram's book:

"'Is there such a thing as a Bell Witch near Springfield, Tenn.? If so, please tell some of its doings of the past.'

"A great many of the most reputable among the older citizens of Springfield and Robertson County are convinced that there was an unexplainable manifestation of some sort which was generally regarded as a ghost, and which came to be called the Bell Witch. It was said to jump on the steeds of men returning home from Springfield after dark, shriek in an unearthly manner and of other alarming things (sic). In the

eighties, when there was a recurrence of what was supposed to be the Bell Witch manifestations, the *Banner* sent Mr. John C. Cooke to investigate. He concluded that there was not at that time any supernatural manifestation, though he heard noises that were not explained. Mr. Cook (sic) is still a member of the *Banner* staff. While he does not accept the ghost theory, he is convinced that there was a mysterious something that alarmed many of the most intelligent people of that community. Mr. Martin V. Ingram of Clarksville wrote a book undertaking to give all the facts and circumstances in which the Bell Witch figured, and this book can probably be obtained from second-hand book dealers."

The student of folk-lore will recognize at once that we are here⁵⁹ dealing with a series of phenomena long associated with haunted houses.⁶⁰ Buildings rendered uninhabitable by terrorizing agencies have existed in fact from time immemorial, and their horrors have formed the basis of skeptical or sympathetic treatment from the ancient classical drama to the more modern Gothic romance and the contemporary penny-dreadful. Moreover, it should be observed that, although houses may be haunted by vampires, ghosts, and other uncanny beings not necessarily associated with witchcraft, the ills which befall the occupants have frequently been attributed to *maleficium*. During the great period of witch mania in Western Europe many buildings in the British Isles and on the Continent were disturbed by the Devil or his human emissaries. A few well authenticated instances of English and American houses troubled by diabolic forces will make it obvious that the agency responsible for the misfortunes of the Bell family did but illustrate the excessive conservativeness with which the powers of evil stick to tradition.

⁵⁹ Events closely resembling those described in *The Bell Witch* are outlined by E. B. Miles in a series of sketches of life in the Cumberlands (*The Spirit of the Mountains*, p. 108 ff.). They concern "an old woman, or the spirit of one," who annoyed the family of Beaver. As a result of the visitations the head of the family pined and died.

⁶⁰ On demon- and witch-haunted houses, see Kittredge, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, 227, n. 2; Chas. Mackay, *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions*, London, 1869, p. 217 ff.; J. H. Ingram, *The Haunted Homes and Family Traditions of Great Britain*, London, 1888; Andrew Lang, *Book of Dreams and Ghosts*, Longmans, 1897, p. 187 ff. Compare the ill-disposed haunting spirits in Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins*, London, 1880, p. 143 ff.; Catherine Crowe, *The Night Side of Nature*, ed., E. A. Baker, London and New York, 1904, p. 302 ff.

In 1649 the Parliamentary commissioners who had established themselves in the palace of Woodstock for the purpose of surveying the royal demesne after the execution of Charles I, were so pestered by strange noises, unaccountable movements of furniture, and other extraordinary phenomena, that they gave up the work.⁶¹ About the middle of the century a family living at Stratford-Bow was annoyed by an invisible agency which disarranged the furniture and threw stones and bricks through the window. An eyewitness was convinced that "it was neither the tricks of Waggs, nor the fancy of a Woman, but the mad frolicks of Witches and Daemons. Which they of the house being fully persuaded of, roasted a Bed-staff, upon which an old Woman, a suspected Witch, came to the House, and was apprehended, but escaped the Law. But the House after was so ill haunted in all the Rooms, upper and lower, that the House stood empty for a long time."⁶² In 1654-5 the family of Gilbert Campbell, a weaver living in Galloway, Scotland, underwent a series of similar annoyances as the result of Campbell's having refused alms to a sturdy beggar named Alexander Agnew, "who afterwards was hanged at *Dumfries*, for Blasphemy." When questioned by the minister, an invisible demon confessed that he was the author of the trouble and showed himself even more learned in the Scriptures than did Kate Batts.⁶³ About the year 1661 a series of persecutions strikingly similar to those described in *The Bell Witch* were suffered by the household of Mr. John Mompesson, of Tedworth, Wilts. An invisible force pulled the children's hair and night-clothes and even lifted the children themselves bodily out of bed, scattered the grandmother's garments and hid her bible in the hearth, moved furniture, opened and shut doors, and

⁶¹ The commissioners blamed the disturbance on the Devil, but an eighteenth-century tradition, which it must be admitted is not above suspicion, has it that the perpetrator was one John Collins, a loyalist who, by concealing his real opinions secured a place with the commission and who was well acquainted with the trap-doors and secret passages of the building. Cf. Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 45 f.; Mackay, *Memoirs*, p. 224. The story of the commissioners' experiences is told in a pamphlet entitled *The Just Devil of Woodstock*, etc., London, 1660 (whence it is repeated by Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 28 ff.), in Glanvill's *Sadduc. Triumph.*, p. 403 ff. (whence it is summarized by Mackay, *Memoirs*, p. 221 ff.), and in Wright's *Narratives*, II, p. 167 ff.

⁶² *Sadduc. Triumph.*, p. 361 ff.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 412 ff.; Ashton, *The Devil in Britain and America*, p. 73 ff.

sprinkled ashes in the beds. Mysterious sounds, at times resembling the beat of a drum, resounded through the house, music was heard in the chimney, and once lights were seen. "One of them [the lights] came into Mr. Mompesson's Chamber, which seemed blue and glimmering, and caused great stiffness in the Eyes of those that saw it." On the morning after a particularly violent exhibition of preternaturalism tracks of claws were seen in the ashes, and sulphurous and otherwise noisome odors filled the house. The invisible disturber, when questioned as to its identity, indicated that it was Satan acting in the service of a drummer whom Mr. Mompesson had previously arrested for vagrancy. The drummer was accordingly tried for witchcraft and deported. Many persons visited the house out of pious curiosity, and skeptics whispered that the sorely vexed gentleman had got up the report "as a trick to get Money from those that came to see the Prodigy," but the accusation was denied by the orthodox. The doings of the "Daemon of Tedworth" were important enough to attract the attention of the famous Joseph Glanvill, who devoted to them a dissertation.⁶⁴ The story is retold in the "Choice Collection of Modern Relations" appended by Henry More to Glanvill's notable defence of witchcraft, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*,⁶⁵ whence it is summarized as valuable evidence of the existence of witches by Increase Mather in his *Remarkable Providences*, published at Boston in 1684.⁶⁶

That in house-haunting as in other matters pertaining to their unhallowed profession, the witches of the New World followed the lead of their exemplars across the Atlantic, will be recalled at once by all readers of early New England literature, especially Increase Mather's book just referred to and his famous son Cotton's *Wonders of the Invisible World*. To multiply instances is unnecessary. The cases enumerated above demonstrate clearly that the Bell witch, far from exciting wonder by the novelty of her tactics, is remarkable only for her lack of invention.

⁶⁴ *Palpable Evidence of Spirits and Witchcraft*. The only copy the writer has seen was published in London in 1668. Glanvill's account is repeated by Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ff.

⁶⁵ P. 270 ff. of the 1726 edition. For other seventeenth-century evidence, see Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 64 ff.; *Sadduc. Triumph.*, p. 366 ff. See further Wright, *Narratives*, II, p. 336 ff.

⁶⁶ Cf. Burr, *Narratives*, p. 32 f.

Returning to the matter of witch transformation, we observe that witches are constantly confused with fairies⁶⁷ and other shape-shifters, and that consequently, like the beautiful and immortal *fées* of mediaeval romance, they sometimes assume the form of deer. The account given below was received from the Virginia negress who furnished the data on witch marks.⁶⁸ A woman who was a witch became enamored of a man on a neighboring plantation, and, in order to approach him, changed herself into a doe and appeared at his "hog-feedin'" place, whither she knew he came daily to bring corn to his stock. The man, supposing the animal to be an ordinary deer, shot at it, but without effect. He then loaded his gun with "a four-pence-ha'-penny cut into four parts,"⁶⁹ and succeeded in shooting off one of the doe's feet. Imbedded in the hoof he found a ring which he recognized as belonging to his would-be mistress. He afterwards discovered that the woman was minus a hand.

The following story from Beaufort County, North Carolina, is condensed from a narrative communicated by Rev. G. Calvin Campbell (colored), who writes that the tradition has long been current in that district. An old woman who lived in a dilapidated log house near a swamp some distance from the public road, made a practice of turning herself into a deer, in which form she was frequently chased by a pack of hounds belonging to certain hunters in the community. The deer always followed the same trail and disappeared at the same place. Since the transformed witch invariably ran along a path used by real deer, the hunters were for a long time deceived. When, however, several of the best marksmen in the county had shot at the animal unsuccessfully, the hunters suspected that they really had to do with the old hag in disguise. They accordingly mixed silver with their buck-shot, and when next they shot at the witch-deer, they succeeded in wounding it. The animal escaped and was never seen again.

⁶⁷ For many examples, see Sir Walter Scott, *Letters on Demonology*, etc., edn. cit., p. 118 ff. See further Reginald Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 19, where the witches' Sabbath is identified with the fairies' dance, and the "ladie of the fairies" is said to preside with the Devil at witch meetings. Glanvill's *Sadduc. Triumph.* (edn. cit., p. 356 ff.) contains a story which clearly illustrates how easily witches are confused with fairy beings.

⁶⁸ Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, **xxii** (1909), 251 f.

⁶⁹ A small silver coin, said to be worth six and a quarter cents.

"They say that the suspected old woman had a sore limb for a long time after this and that it could not be cured."

In Scott County, Tennessee, a hunter whose gun had been bewitched, tried in vain to kill a mysterious deer which waited for him to shoot three times before running away. By the advice of a witch-doctor he used as a mark a tree to which he gave the name of the woman suspected of having spelled the weapon. When the tree was struck, the woman cried out and the charm was broken.⁷⁰ The animal here referred to is doubtless kin to the supernatural stag which roams the mountains in various parts of the Alleghanies and which has so often eluded the most skillful hunters.⁷¹

"J. A. F.-L., XIII (1900), 209 f. For other methods of counteracting the charms placed by witches upon weapons, see Andrée, *Ethnographische Parallelen u. Vergleiche*, p. 42 ff. Eph Tucker (on whom, see above, p. 231), told Mr. Thomas Smith a story in which a witch appeared in the form of a bear, but I know of no other case in North Carolina. It seems that 'Ole Ferro' had taken a dislike to a certain man in the community. One night the man saw "a big thing like a bear a-walkin' the jist (joists) over his bed all night. The man said he tried to shoot the thing, but his gun wouldn't shoot, and he had to set there and watch that ole bear or whatever it wuz all night a-walkin' on the jist back'ards and for'ards right over his bed."

"For an account of this animal, see J. A. F.-L., XIII (1900), 211. For the proper method of killing it, see J. A. F.-L., III (1890), 202; and *infra*, pp. 284 f. Cf. Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders*, Outing Pub. Co., 1913, p. 91. See further J. A. F.-L., VII (1894), 109, where reference is made to the black dog of the vale of Chatata, the gray wolf seen at midnight where the road from West Virginia crosses Piney Ridge, the headless bull of southeastern Tennessee, and the bleeding horse of the Smoky Mountains of Georgia. On these, see also Chas. H. Skinner, *Myths and Legends of Our Own Land*, Lippincott, II [N. D.], 68 f. Supernatural appearances of a similar character are reported in a recent communication to the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society by Mr. Thomas Smith, of Zionville. One of these is connected with the "Big Laurel," a dense jungle of "laurel," "ivy," and other mountain shrubs in the western part of Watauga County. The appearance of "hants" in this district is attested by many reliable citizens, among whom, says Mr. Smith, is Dr. Rivers, formerly a well known physician of Boone. While traversing the Laurel one morning just before daylight a few years after the Civil War, the doctor saw a strange man seated on a gray horse exactly like his own. A moment later horse and man had vanished. Not long afterwards the doctor died, and it was believed that the spectral horseman had come as a warning of his approaching demise. One of Mr. Smith's informants accounts for the large number of "hants" in the district by the suggestion

that "the Indians who used to camp here of a summer may have murdered one of their tribe and buried him in or near the Laurel." The scene of another of Mr. Smith's stories is a spring situated by the roadside a mile east of Watauga River. "The reputation of the place for being haunted is known to scores of people." One of them, Andrew Wilson, a reliable farmer living near Zionville, tells the following: "I was coming from Elk Park one night about twenty years ago. I'd been there with a load of lumber. When I come to the spring where the ghosts are seen, I stopped to let my horses drink. The horses wouldn't drink, and they seemed like they was skeered. Just then I looked ahead of me in the road and seed a man a-standing there. I could see he had shiny brass buttons on his coat like a soldier. Thinking it was somebody, I says, 'Howdy?' It didn't make no reply; so I spoke agin, but it didn't notice me. I watched it several minutes, and while I was a-gazin' at it, the thing jist seemed to fade away, and I could never see where it went to. I tell ye, I drove off from there in a hurry. But I didn't see the worst things that are seen there," continued Mr. Wilson. "Why, lots and lots of people have passed there of nights and seed the strangest things you ever heard tell of. They first see seven 'possums cross the road and go into a laurel thicket near the spring; then seven dogs follow right after the 'possums; then seven men cross the road right after the dogs into the laurel; and right after the men they see seven coffins sail across the road into the laurel thicket. I know of men who say they have seed all them skeery hants. Yes, there was men murdered there before the War; that's what causes them strange things to be seed." Several of Mr. Smith's stories concern a headless dog that used to emerge from a pile of rocks marking the site of an old school-house near the road from Cove Creek to Brushy Fork. Though the cause of the dog's appearing at just this place has never been discovered, it has been hinted that a traveler and his dog were killed there by robbers and buried under the school-house. Several reliable persons living on Cove Creek have heard of or seen the headless dog. On one occasion the animal followed a man who was passing along the road on horseback after dark. The traveller put spurs to his horse, but the dog followed swiftly and leaped on the horse's back. The frightened rider, on looking over his shoulder, saw the creature sitting behind him, its bloody neck almost touching his back. By the time he had reached a settlement several miles distant, the dog had disappeared. Cf. Sikes, *British Goblins*, p. 168 ff. Some thirty years ago three young men were returning home one night from a "meetin'" on Brushy Fork. Some distance beyond the pile of rocks, one of the company, happening to glance behind, saw a large black dog following them. The animal was headless, and although the moon shone bright, it cast no shadow. The young men hurried on, but the dog overtook them, and even ran ahead, gamboling and rolling at their feet. One of them struck it with his cane, but the stick passed through its body as through thin air. When they reached a creek two miles farther on, the apparition turned back, though with evident reluctance. In ante-bellum days the negroes of certain parts of South Carolina knew a "hant" called "Plat-eye," which generally appeared in the form of a dog (*J. A. F.-L.*,

As Professor John M. McBryde pointed out some years ago,⁷² the hare has long figured in the mythology of various peoples. Owing doubtless to its generally uncanny character, it served as a disguise for witches during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,⁷³ and today it is connected with several omens of good or ill fortune. For example, in the mountains of North Carolina, as elsewhere in the United States, it is bad luck for a rabbit to cross the path in front of a traveller.⁷⁴ "The left hind foot of a grave-

xxvii (1914), 248). For similar superstitions on the "Eastern Shore" of Virginia, see J. C. Wise, *Ye Kingdome of Accawmacke*, p. 334. Mr. Coon records a belief, current formerly in Lincoln County, North Carolina, that witches sometimes walked the rail fences on all fours, "displaying large, flaming red eyes." In 1612 a witness in an English witchcraft trial deposed that a witch had appeared to her in the form of a black dog with two legs and had tried to persuade her to drown herself (Thomas Wright, *Narratives*, II, 128). For additional seventeenth century evidence, see Glanvil, *op. cit.*, 295; A. M. Gummere, *Witchcraft and Quakerism*, Phila. and London, 1908, p. 31. The story about Dr. Rivers suggests the whole class of supernatural warnings of approaching death, of which many examples are said to be current in North Carolina. One of these, recorded by Mr. Smith, concerns 'Little Booney' Potter, a desperate character who formerly lived in North Fork township and who was killed in an encounter with a sheriff's posse. A few nights before Potter's death the desperado's bed-fellow was terrified by "somthin' big and heavy [that] came and sot down right on the bed." Although the thing did not leave until nearly daylight, Potter slept undisturbed. Later his companion said he was sure the visitation had foretold Potter's death. It would be interesting to discover whether phantom ships are still seen along the Carolina coast. Lawson (writing early in the eighteenth century) records a report "the truth of [which] has been affirmed to me, by men of the best Credit in the Country," "that the Ship which brought the first Colonies, does often appear amongst them [the people of Roanoke Island] under sail, in a most gallant Posture, which they call Sir Walter Raleigh's Ship" (*op. cit.*, p. 34). A shadowy craft used to appear on the Rappahannock River, Va. (Skinner, *Myths and Legends of Our Own Land*, II, 71).

⁷² *Sewanee Rev.*, April, 1911. Cf. "Mythology of All Races," x (*North American*), p. 67.

⁷³ In 1663 a witch named Julian Cox, of Somersetshire, England, was accused of transforming herself into a hare (Glanvil, *op. cit.*, p. 328). In another account a ghost assumes the form of a hare (*Ibid.*, p. 337 f.) See further Notestein, *op. cit.*, p. 171; Matthew Hopkins, *Discovery of Witches*, London, 1647, p. 2. The devil's mark is sometimes said to resemble the impression of a hare's foot (Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 155).

⁷⁴ J. A. F.-L., xx (1907), 245. Cf. *So. Workman*, xxxiii (1904), 52; xxxv, 634. In County Clare, Ireland, both fairies and witches take the

yard rabbit killed in the dark of the moon" brings good fortune,⁷⁵ and, as every reader of Uncle Remus knows, a graveyard rabbit, like a witch, cannot be killed with ordinary shot.

The bad reputation of toads is of extremely long standing,⁷⁶ and their association with suspected witches as familiars was constantly introduced as evidence before courts of justice during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷⁷ We all remember that one of the ingredients of the witches' caldron in *Macbeth* was a

Toad, that under cold stone
Days and nights has thirty-one
Sweltered venom sleeping got,

and that when Milton's Satan wished to tempt Eve, he "squat like a toad" at her ear. Today American witches who take the form of toads seem to be rare,⁷⁸ but it is well known in western North Carolina that, if you kill a toad, your cows will give bloody

form of rabbits (*Folk-Lore*, **XXI** (1910), 463; **XXII**, 449). An Irish story tells how a hare bitten by hounds ran into a cottage, "where an old woman was found torn behind" (*Folk-Lore*, **XXIII** (1912), 214).

"*J. A. F.-L.*, **XXVII** (1914), 247 (S. C.-negro?). On the rabbit in popular lore, see Black, *op. cit.*, p. 154 f; Karl Knortz, *Zur amerikanischen Volkskunde*, Tübingen, 1905, p. 10; *Amerikanischer Aberglaube der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 35 ff.

"On the frog and the toad in literature and folk-lore, see Karl Knortz, *Reptilien u. Amphibien in Sage, Sitte u. Literatur*, Annaberg (Sachsen), 1911, pp. 30 ff., 69 ff.

"Cf. Notestein, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 ff., 184, 261. There seem to be few American witches who take the form of snakes. A Guilford County story tells of a little girl who had a snake with which she used to eat. The lives of the two were so intimately connected that, when the snake was killed, the girl died (*J. A. F.-L.*, **XXX**, 185). On a snake woman married to a Maryland man, see *J. A. F.-L.*, **XII** (1899), 68 f. Cf. the same journal, vol. **XII**, 228 ff.; *So. Workman*, **XXX** (1900), 180. Lawson reports that the Indians of North Carolina avoided killing a snake for fear "some of the Serpents Kindred would kill some of the Savages Relations that should destroy him" (*op. cit.*, p. 124). He also records an Indian tradition regarding a demon snake that devoured "Great Canoes full of Indians, at a time" (*op. cit.*, p. 127). Cf. Kittredge, *The Old Farmer*, p. 108. Heads, skins, and oil of snakes are, of course, common in the practice of witchcraft and of popular medicine in the South. See *infra*, p. 265 ff.

"For an instance, see *J. A. F.-L.*, **XVII** (1904), 265. A Guilford County story tells of a woman who had a diabolical stuffed frog (*J. A. F.-L.*, **XXX**, 183 f.-negro).

milk,⁷⁹—a misfortune which often results from the machinations of witches. According to a peculiar belief current not long ago in the Alleghany Mountains, "toads are often kept by witches instead of chickens, and their eggs are known from the fact that it is very difficult to break their shells. When these creatures are dilatory in laying, the witch switches them, and then for a time the toads become very prolific. Most frequently she keeps the reptiles in a hollow stump."⁸⁰ Because of their supposed venomous character toads were formerly much used in the practice of medicine to drive out less virulent poisons, and it is still a popular belief in eastern North Carolina that a live toad-frog cut in two and applied to the bite of a mad dog will draw out the venom.⁸¹

Throughout the Southern States the "screech-owl," like the raven of European tradition, is regarded with suspicion.⁸² It is used as a disguise by witches, and the charms to prevent its "hollo'ing" are also effective against witchcraft.⁸³

⁷⁹ *J. A. F.-L.*, xx (1907), 244. If you kill frogs, your cows will go dry (*J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 306 (Ga.). In Knott County, Ky., as in eastern Virginia and elsewhere in the United States, handling toads causes warts on the hand. The excrescences may be removed by selling them to a witch, who will pay for them with pins (*J. A. F.-L.*, xxiv, 319). For other ways of removing warts, see *infra*, pp. 261 f. In New England handling toads causes freckles (F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 88). Cf. *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, xxxix (1891), 378. For a toad to enter the house is a sure sign of approaching death (*So. Workman*, xxxiii [1904], 51; Ala.-negro). Among the mountain whites of the South witches may be prevented from entering a house by drawing a picture of a frog's foot on the entrance (*J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 113). Cf. the same journal, vol. iv (1891), 324. On the magical properties of the toad, see F. D. Bergen, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁸⁰ *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 116.

⁸¹ In 1657 Sir Kenelm Digby wrote: "The Farcy is a venomous and contagious humor within the body of a Horse: hang a toad about the neck of the Horse in a little bag and he will be cured infallibly: the Toad, which is the stronger poyson, drawing to it the venome which was within the Horse." *Of the Sympathetick Powder, A Discourse in Solemn Assembly, at Montpellier. Made in French, by Sir Kenelm Digby, Knight, 1657*, London, 1669, p. 176. Cf. *N. Y. Med. J.*, Feby. 19, 1916. See further, *infra*, p. 253, n. 97.

⁸² See *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 305; xii (1899), 269 (Ga.). Cf. vol. vi (1893), 70 (N. H.).

⁸³ Cf. F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 20. Brickell asserts that in his day the screech-owl was eaten by Indians and negroes, that its flesh cures palsy and melancholy, and that its grease strengthens the eyesight (*Natural History*, *edn. cit.*, p. 178 f.).

* In order to change from human into animal form, witches usually rub themselves with an ointment—a method which, it will be recalled, was used by Phoebe Ward, the Northampton County witch. Early recipes often call for grease distilled from corpses as one of the chief ingredients of witch ointment; “today among the negroes of Georgia “witch-butter” may be prepared from the fat of graveyard snakes (descendants of the original serpent in the Garden of Eden).”⁸⁵

From time immemorial witches have been endowed with varied and extensive powers of venting their malignancy upon humanity. “If it were true that witches confesse, or that all writers write, or that witchmongers report, or that fooles beleieve,” wrote Reginald Scot, “we should never have butter in the chearne, nor cow in the close, nor corne in the field, nor faire weather abroad, nor health within doores.”⁸⁶ Though the gradual spread of skepticism

“An early authority declares that the devil teaches witches “to make ointments of the bowels and members of children, whereby they ride in the aire, and accomplish all their desires” (Cf. Scot, *op. cit.*, 31). See further *infra*, p. 271, n. 162. In 1664 an English witch confessed that she and other witches were able to fly through the air by rubbing their foreheads and wrists with a ‘raw smelling’ oil furnished by a familiar spirit. (*Sadduc. Triumph.*, 297).

“Whoever rubs himself with the ‘butter’ becomes invisible, “‘case Satan is ‘bleged to stan’ by folks what are greased wid his grease” (*J. A. F.-L.*, xxv (1912), 134). In 1928 Dr. Elisha Mitchell, while on a geological tour in the extreme northwestern portion of North Carolina, wrote to his wife: “While breakfast was getting ready heard an amusing account of an old man who determined the locality of ores by the mineral rod, and by his own account is very busy in digging for gold and silver. taken from the Whites by the Indians, and laid up in ‘subteranium chambers.’ Said he greased his boots with dead men’s tallow, and is prevented from getting the treasure out not by the little spirit with head no bigger than his two thumbs who came to blow the candle out, but by the big two horned devil himself.” (*James Sprunt Historical Monograph*, No. 6 (1905), pub. by the University of North Carolina, p. 25). An amusing parallel to Lucius’ misfortune in Apuleius’ witch story was current not long ago in the Alleghany mountains. A witch’s husband accidentally ate some corn-meal dough upon which his wife had put a spell in order to make her hens lay. As a result the poor fellow lost the power of speech and could only cackle like a hen (*J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 116). Scot (*op. cit.*, p. 75 f.) quotes a story of a man who was transformed into an ass by eating bewitched eggs. On the general subject of transformation by means of witch-ointment, see Grimm, *Deut. Mythol.*, II, 895, n. 2.

⁸⁶Cf. Addison’s remarks in *The Spectator*, No. cxvii.

regarding the reality of black magic has within the last few generations somewhat circumscribed the witch's power of doing harm, many well authenticated cases of sickness and death of man and beast, still testify to the amazing vitality of the superstition.⁸⁷

"For evidence, see O. M. Hueffer, *The Book of Witches*, London, 1908, Chaps. I and XVI; Linton, *op. cit.*, p. 426 ff.; *J. A. F.-L.*, II (1889), 233; III, 281 f.; X, 242 f.; XIV, 173 ff.; XXVII, 320 f. For a noteworthy early instance of wholesale death of human beings and cattle by witchcraft, see *The Northamptonshire Witches, Being a true and faithful Account of the Births, Educations, Lives, and Conversations of Elinor Shaw and Mary Phillips*, London, 1705, p. 6. The defendants were shown to have killed fifteen children, eight men, and six women, besides sundry cattle. See further Scot, *op. cit.*, *passim*; the "Choice Collection of Modern Relations" appended to the fourth (1726) edition of Joseph Glanvill's *Sadducismus Triumphatus*; Grimm, *Deut. Mythol.*, II, 896 f. Cases of witchcraft are still brought from time to time before our courts of justice. See, for example, *J. A. F.-L.*, IV (1891), 325 (Pa.); VII, 144; XII, 289 f.; XVII, 90; XIX, 174 f.; cf. I, 30, note. Modern spiritualists, hypnotists, faith-healers, and fortune-tellers, as well as operators of many "confidence-games" have inherited much from the witches and wizards of the past. See "The Revival of Witchcraft," *Pop. Sci. Mon.*, XLIII (1893); Karl Knortz, *Zur amerikanischen Volkskunde*, p. 21 ff. Ever since the witch of Endor called up Samuel at the request of Saul, witches have sought to foretell the future by communing with the spirits of the dead. One instance is recorded of a North Carolina woman who asked the services of a male witch to raise the spirit of her dead husband so that she might learn where he had concealed his money (*J. A. F.-L.*, II (1889), 101). The story of Saul and the witch of Endor gave mediæval commentators a world of trouble. Cf. Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 111 ff., for many references. Are witches in North Carolina ever accused of raising storms? The charge was frequently made against witches three hundred years ago. See Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 47 f.; *Sadduc. Triumph.*, p. 397. Cf. Thomas Ady, *A Candle in the Dark*, London, 1656, p. 117 f. The early colonists of North Carolina believed that Indian conjurers could create storms of wind (Brickell, *op. cit.*, p. 370). An instance of a favorable wind created by a friendly Indian for the benefit of European sailors, is given in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, I (1886), 983. Cf. Colonel William Byrd's jocose reference in a letter of Oct. 22, 1735 (*Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, IX, 231). In New England Indian sorcerers, like the witch in *Macbeth* (I, iii, 10), could sink ships by gnawing holes in the bottom (*Old South Leaflets*, III, No. 54, p. 3). The power of influencing the weather has been attributed to the magicians of many peoples. A whole chapter has been devoted to the subject of weather-makers by Lieutenant F. S. Bassett in his *Sea Phantoms*, Chicago, 1892, p. 101 ff. Cf. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, p. xlvi ff.; Martino Delrio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*, Moguntiae, 1617, Bk. II, xi, p. 140; Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 80 ff.

Among the mountain whites of the South witches still injure the minds and bodies of men and women, stunt the growth of children, make cows give bloody milk, prevent the formation of butter and soap, and render fire-arms useless.⁸⁸ In a negro story from Guilford County a witch prevented a man's wife from having a child until the "trick," which was hidden in the chimney-corner, was found and the spell broken.⁸⁹ Mr. Coon, referring to conditions in Lincoln County during the first half of the last century, writes:

"Witches were frequently supposed not only to exert their evil influences upon human beings but also upon hogs, cattle, fowls, cats, dogs, and the like. If a cow went 'dry,' the witches were often charged with it. If the hogs or the cattle became diseased, the witches were supposed to have been exercising their spells and a witch doctor was called in to try to restore them to health again. . . . Sometimes a 'witch-man' would come to a shooting match and spoil the 'luck.' On such occasions the participants would immediately disperse, saying that no prizes could be won while a 'witch-man' was in their midst."

Mr. J. P. Arthur records a story told by the late Colonel Allen T. Davidson about a famous hunter named Neddy McFalls, who "traveled from Cataloochee to Waynesville to have a witch-doctor—a woman—remove a 'spell' he thought someone had put on his Gillespie rifle."⁹⁰

The means by which Southern witches of today attain their ends are many. They vary all the way from incantations and other practices universally associated with witchcraft and obviously based originally on well recognized principles of magic, to cheap

⁸⁸ Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 114; F. D. Berger, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 15 (Mitchell Co., N. C.). Among the Hudson Bay Indians, if a woman steps over a gun, the weapon becomes useless (Andrée, *op. cit.*, p. 43). In the North Carolina version of the familiar children's game beginning "Chick-ur-mur, chick-ur-mur, Cravy (or Crany, or Cramy) Crow" and known as "Hawk and Chickens" or "Hen and Chickens," an "Old Witch" take the place of the "Hawk" in attempting to steal the children (*J. A. F.-L.*, v (1892), 119). For the English versions, see A. B. Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, London, 1894, I, 201. Cf. vol. II, 391 ff., and W. W. Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children*, p. 215 ff.

⁸⁹ *J. A. F.-L.*, xxx, 180.

⁹⁰ *Western North Carolina*, Raleigh, 1914, pp. 290, n. 10, 336. A fair estimate of the general value of Mr. Arthur's book is given by Archibald Henderson, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, xx, 890.

"conjer" or "tricks," the rationale of which is difficult to determine. In some parts of the Alleghany Mountains there dwells a being who inveigles wayfarers into the power of demons and witches,⁹¹ but ordinarily no such intermediary is necessary to bring the unfortunate mortal within the sphere of diabolical influence. The power of the "evil eye," so long an article of folk belief, is still known in the Alleghany Mountains,⁹² but its exercise is said to be uncommon in the annals of English witchcraft.⁹³ Generally speaking, the practice of the black art is founded upon two well accepted principles of primitive society. The first, known as Sympathetic Magic, asserts that "any effect may be produced by imitating it"—a dictum based ultimately on the assumption that association in thought involves connection in reality.⁹⁴ According to the second, nails, hair, clothing and other articles of dress, and even the name are parts of the personality,⁹⁵ and, since to the primitive mind things once joined remain joined ever afterwards,⁹⁶ any intimate personal possession, in case it fall into the hands of an enemy, may be used by him to the detriment of the owner.⁹⁷

⁹¹ *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 110.

⁹² *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 114; XIV, 42.

⁹³ Notestein, *op. cit.*, 111.

⁹⁴ Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, London, II (1895), 64 ff.; Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, I (1899), 96; F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, 48. Cf. Kittredge, *The Old Farmer*, 115 f. Similarities of a purely accidental character are apparently responsible for a number of proverbs current among the Cumberland mountaineers. Hasty tempers and pepper are alike in that both are hot. Hence, "if you ain't bad-tempered you can't git pepper to bear." "If you're hairy about the arms and chest, you'll have good luck with hogs." According to Pliny, basil should be sowed with curses and ugly words (cf. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, p. xv); the Southern highlander says, "If you don't cuss you'll never raise gourds" (E. B. Miles, *The Spirit of the Mountains*, p. 99). The principle underlying such sayings is exemplified in old-fashioned medicine under the name of the "Doctrine of Signatures." See T. J. Pettigrew, *On Superstitions Connected with the History and Practise of Medicine and Surgery*, Philadelphia, 1844, p. 33 f. Cf. *Vergleichende Volksmedizin*, ed., Hovorka and Kronfeld, II (1909), 858 f.

⁹⁵ For references, see *Modern Philology*, XII (1915), 622 f. Is it believed anywhere in North Carolina that the floating loaf of bread used to discover the whereabouts of a drowned body, should have the dead person's name written on it?

⁹⁶ Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 49 ff.

⁹⁷ On the other hand, if properly treated, it may cause great good to the

Faith in these two doctrines is responsible not only for the vast majority of witch practice, ancient and modern, but also for the efficacy of many counter-charms employed by "witch-doctors" and others who fight against magic with magic.⁹⁸

These facts explain the universal fear of giving anything to a witch.⁹⁹ Whatever is done to the gift affects the giver. It is, however, scarcely less perilous to incur a witch's displeasure by refusing her request, for she has many strings to her diabolical fiddle, and she may find other ways of harming you.

The use of personal property for the purpose of injuring the owner should be well known in North Carolina. A few typical cases from neighboring territory are here given as illustrations of the general method of procedure. The following episode, said to have occurred in December, 1907, is given essentially as it appeared in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, because it illustrates so well, even in a reporter's "write-up," the psychology underlying the practice of witchcraft by sympathetic magic.

"A night or two ago . . . a negro girl ran breathlessly up to an officer, and said she had been 'conjured.' 'Some gal's got the combins of my hyar, an' nailed 'em to a tree,' she wept. 'I dunno how she got 'em, but she got 'em, and she's done nail 'em to a tree. . . . Yo' white folks don' know 'bout sech things, . . . but we cullud folks knows all erbout 'em. Dat gal sho' is got my combin's, cos' I'se got de headache. When yo' nails a gal's combin's to a tree, wid the combin's twisted roun' de nail, it sho'

original possessor. This doctrine explains the supposed efficacy of Sir Kenelm Digby's famous Sympathetic Powder, the use of which was expounded by the inventor in 1657. Sir Kenelm proved to his own satisfaction, as well as to that of many other persons, that a wound may be cured by treating with the powder the weapon which caused it or some object which had been in contact with the patient. For the modern explanation of the surprisingly large number of recoveries after the application of this method, see W. R. Riddell, *N. Y. Med. Journ.*, Feby. 19, 1916. Cf. Kittredge, *The Old Farmer*, 115 ff.; Karl Knortz, *Zur amerikanischen Volkskunde*, p. 24; Pettigrew, *Superstitions*, etc., p. 201 ff.

⁹⁸ On North Carolina witch-doctors of the early nineteenth century, see Brantley York, *Autobiog.*, 8. On the doctrine of sympathy in folk medicine, see Black, *op. cit.*, 51 ff.; Dr. W. J. Hoffman, *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, xxvi (1899), 330.

⁹⁹ *J. A. F.-L.*, ix (1896), 227. See also *Century Magazine*, xxi (1885-6), 820; *J. A. F.-L.*, i (1888), 134 (Pa.); iii, 206 (La.), 286 f.; iv, 254 (N. H.); xiv, 43 (Western Md.); Scot, *op. cit.*, 5; *Sadduc. Triumph.*, 328; Ashton, *The Devil in Britain and America*, p. 64 ff.

gwine give yo' a headache, an' I'se got one arful bad. It's been achin' eber since dat gal got my combins's." ¹⁰⁰

A woman in Chestertown, Maryland, was terrified because someone had torn a piece out of her dress and "buried it against her." ¹⁰¹ In Georgia negroes "conjer" by getting the excrement of the person to be affected, boring a hole in a tree, putting the excrement into the hole, and driving in a plug. As a result the victim cannot defecate unless the peg is taken out and the tree cut down and burned on the spot. ¹⁰²

The same principle explains the terror with which the negroes and poor whites in some sections of the South regard the action of 'picking up tracks.' Because of their accessibility and their close association with the person, especially in country districts where there is much travelling on foot and many people go barefooted, foot-prints are especially liable to be used by witches in working their will upon the maker. ¹⁰³ Some twenty years ago the

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, **XXII** (1909), 253. If a bird gets your combings and makes a nest of them, you will have the headache. Cf. *So. Workman*, **XL**, 581 f.; *Ill. Med. Journ.*, Apr., 1917, 269 f. To make a cat remain in a new habitation, cut off and keep the last joint of her tail (*J. A. F.-L.*, **XXVII** (1914), 247) (S. C.). The following comes from eastern North Carolina: to prevent a ferocious dog from biting you, get a hair from the tail of the animal and bury it under your door-step. Never throw away your nail-clippings. Cf. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 104.

¹⁰¹ *J. A. F.-L.*, **III** (1890), 285 f. In one of the Lincoln (England) trials in 1618-19 it transpired that the witch had accomplished her diabolical purpose by dipping the victim's gloves in hot water, and then rubbing them on a cat and pricking them often (Thomas Wright, *Narratives*, **II**, 124; cf. Notestein, *op. cit.*, 134).

¹⁰² *J. A. F.-L.*, **XIV** (1901), 179.

¹⁰³ For a highly illuminating discussion, see E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, **II**, 78 ff. It may be added that under certain circumstances tracks have a peculiar quality of permanence. The tracks of a horse which threw its rider while the latter was racing on Sunday, are said to be still visible on a road near Bath, N. C. In spite of many efforts to destroy them, they remain a permanent warning against the breach of the Second Commandment. Rev. G. Calvin Campbell (colored) writes that at a spot in Long Acre township, Beaufort County, North Carolina, there may still be seen the hoof-prints of a horse which threw its rider—an unregenerate man—during a race many years ago. According to current opinion, the ghost of the dead man comes every night and clears the tracks of whatever falls into them during the day. Although Bath is situated in Bath, not in Long Acre, township, both accounts doubtless refer to the same place.

practice was known in Georgia, and a writer in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* for 1896 (p. 227 f.) tells how a country district in Mississippi was set by the ears because a negro woman had picked up the tracks of a man and his wife, carried them off, and buried them, interring dog's hair with the tracks of the man, cat's hair with those of the woman. "Hence the couple could no more live together than a dog and a cat." The writer is indebted to Mr. Wm. G. Caffey, formerly of Lowndes County, Alabama, for an account of how a negro on an Alabama plantation, who had picked up the tracks of another, was chased by a mob and was saved from rough handling only by the timely interference of the owner of the estate.¹⁰⁴ Mr. Stephenson writes that in Northampton County, North Carolina, conjure-bags sometimes contain, along with locks of hair and rocks, dirt from the tracks of the person to be injured. It is said that in Knott County, Kentucky, a lover may win his lady's favor by counting her steps up to the ninth, then taking some earth from the track made by her left shoe-heel, and carrying it in his pocket for nine days.¹⁰⁵ Here belongs also the superstition that a thief may be caught by driving a nail into one of his tracks. The effect is the same as if the nail were stuck into his foot. A string must therefore be tied around the head of the nail so that it may be drawn out when the offender is captured; otherwise he will die.¹⁰⁶

In the absence of any article of personal property, the witch may establish direct connection with her victim by the use of a conventionalized image made of wood, dough, wax, or other available substance and representing the person to be affected—a device

¹⁰⁴ *J. A. F.-L.*, xxii (1909), 253. Cf. vol. ix (1896), 227.

¹⁰⁵ *J. A. F.-L.*, xxiv (1911), 321. The following extract from the collection of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society is recommended to ladies who would know something of their future husbands: 'Starting on your right foot, take nine steps backwards. Take a handful of dirt from under the heel of your foot on the ninth step. In this dirt you will find a hair of the same color as that of the man you will marry.'

¹⁰⁶ *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 113. Similarly, if a sharp implement such as a knife, a fork, or a pin is stuck in the under side of the seat of a wooden-bottom chair or in the floor beneath it, any witch who sits on the chair will be impaled (cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, xi (1898), 76). The efficacy of this test was illustrated in the evidence against Florence Newton, accused of witchcraft at the Cork (Ireland) assizes in 1661 (*Sadduc. Triumph.*, p. 320).

familiar to all readers of Thomas Hardy's *Return of the Native* and Rossetti's ballad of "Sister Helen." The savage draws near to the god of his idolatry by driving a nail in his fetich.¹⁰⁷ The witch tortures her enemy by heating a little figure of wax or clay. This device was used by the witches of antiquity;¹⁰⁸ it was familiar to the early Germanic tribes;¹⁰⁹ it is often mentioned in the witchcraft trials of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries;¹¹⁰ and it is common among the African natives of the present day.¹¹¹ Among the evidences of witchcraft enumerated in Dalton's *Country Justice* is the following: "They [witches] have often pictures of clay or wax (like a man, &c. made of such as they would bewitch) found in their house, or which they roast, or bury in the earth, that as the picture consumes, so may the parties bewitched consume" (p. 277). According to a belief current as recently as 1896 in the remoter districts of Georgia, a witch may torture her enemy by baking an image of dough fashioned to represent the victim, and then sticking pins in it;¹¹² and a few years ago witches in southeastern Virginia were said to be guilty of much the same offence.

The principle of imitative action as applied to the practice of black magic is illustrated in an account of a witch-doctor who flourished in Johnston County, North Carolina, some three or four decades ago. Of this celebrity Professor William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, writes as follows:

"When I was a boy my father lived a little east of Clayton, North Carolina. There was a certain Doctor Duncan who lived somewhat more than two miles further east. He was known as a 'conjure doctor.' He was supposed to work marvellous cures upon people who had strange ail-

¹⁰⁷ Cf. E. S. Hartland, *Folklore; What is It and What is the Good of It* (Pop. Studies in Romance and Folk-Lore, 2), London, 1899, p. 17 f.; G. L. Gomme, *Handbook of Folklore*, London, 1890, p. 40 f.; Andrée, *op. cit.*, p. 8 ff.; Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 87 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. F. T. Elworthy, *op. cit.*, 49, n.; Tacitus, *Annales*, II, 69.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. J. A. F.-L., XXII (1909), 119 f.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Notestein, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, n. 25, 215, 342, 378; St. John D. Seymour, *Irish Witchcraft and Demonology*, 1913, pp. 147, 182; *Sadduc. Triumph.*, pp. 296, 391 f.

¹¹¹ Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, I, 99. Cf. Jerome Dowd, *The Negro Races*, New York, 1907, p. 261; Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, L, 1890, p. 163.

¹¹² J. A. F.-L., IX (1896), 227. Cf. *Century Mag.*, XXI (1885-6), 820.

ments. If men had been bewitched, he could remove the charm. If women wished their enemies to suffer, he could perform certain curious tricks and the victims would invariably begin their downward course. Negroes were especially subject to his cures and bewitchments. It was told me more than once that live frogs had been taken from negroes' swollen feet or legs by this wonder-worker. A certain negro woman was once caused to begin to stoop by this doctor. She continued to stoop till she finally got her feet and her head together, and died in that attitude. The doctor had only said a few words, heated a needle over a candle and put the point through its eye in the presence of the woman's enemy. Many and even more fanciful stories were told me of the marvellous man 'over the creek.' It would have been a joke to our household had it not been for the number of people from far and near, from distant states, who halted at our door, by day and by night, to ask the way to Dr. Duncan's."

The principle of sympathetic magic may also be applied in retaliation, since here, as in popular medicine, the rule *similia similibus curantur* holds good.¹¹³ In Georgia a bewitched person may guard himself against further attacks for a year by making a dough effigy of the witch, tying a string around its neck, allowing the dough to rise, and then baking it. The witch is thus strangled.¹¹⁴ From Mitchell County, North Carolina, comes the information that a vindictive person may wound his enemy by drawing his picture on a board and then shooting it.¹¹⁵ Equally in accord with the most approved methods is the Pennsylvania prescription which substitutes for the drawing a hair from the witch's head wrapped in a piece of paper.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Compare the "Doctrine of Signatures," on which see above, p. 253, n. 94. Among the remnants of the Machapunga Indians in Dare and Hyde counties and on Roanoke Island, the bite of a rattlesnake may be cured by eating a piece of the snake. *Am. Anthropol.*, XVIII (1916), 273.

¹¹⁴ *J. A. F.-L.*, IX (1896), 227. Cf. vol. XIV (1912), 134.

¹¹⁵ F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 15. Mrs. Bergen states that the same method is used in Alabama. See further *J. A. F.-L.*, XIV (1901), 42. The fear of being photographed, encountered among savages and occasionally among civilized peoples, is based ultimately on the notion that the picture renders the person represented more liable to injury. Cf. Andr  e, *op. cit.*, p. 18 ff.; R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, London, 1906, p. 51.

¹¹⁶ *J. A. F.-L.*, II (1889), 32. That such sympathetic remedies as those mentioned above are thoroughly in accord with the laws of nature and permissible under those of God, was maintained by Rev. Deodat Lawson in *Christ's Fidelity the Only Shield against Satan's Malignity*, a sermon delivered at Salem, Mass., in March, 1692. The second edition, consulted by the writer, appeared in 1704.

In the same category belong most cures for bewitched cattle. Among the mountain whites of the South, whatever is done to the animal affects the witch.¹¹⁷ In general the contagion of witchcraft is checked if the first thing attacked is burned. Mr. James Mooney, in his article on "Folk-Lore in the Carolina Mountains," records the following instance, related by a lady as having occurred near Asheville within her own or her mother's recollection. "A valuable steer suddenly became sick without apparent cause, and the fact was attributed to witchcraft. The owner and his neighbors collected a pile of logs, laid the sick animal upon it while still alive, and burned it to ashes."¹¹⁸ Mr. Joseph A. Haskell tells of another case which came under his observation while he was engaged in cotton-planting in North Carolina. One hot day he noticed the children of his negro overseer engaged in building a fire of leaves and sticks under the supervision of their father. The old darkey, on being asked the reason for the strange proceeding, replied, "The distemper has got my chickens and they are dying fast. Now when that happens, if you take a well one and burn it alive in the fork of the path it will cure the rest and no more will die." On another occasion the old negro even attempted to induce Mr. Haskell to burn a well mule "at the forks of the road" in order to stop the ravages of an epidemic among the stock on the plantation.¹¹⁹ The following story from the mountains of Tennessee furnishes conclusive proof of the value of the method illustrated above. A man borrowed a boiler from a witch and refused to return it. In retaliation the hag "came every night and danced on him and also made one of his sheep die every day. He returned the boiler, but his ill luck continued." By the advice of a witch-doctor he took out the heart and lungs of the next sheep that died, performing the operation alone and in silence. He then carried the parts home and laid them on a bed of live coals. "The witch (who lived some distance away), immediately began to shriek, and some neighbors coming in and forcibly investigating, found her breast completely charred."¹²⁰ At the trial of Julian Cox, of Somersetshire, England, in 1663, a witness

¹¹⁷ *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 116.

¹¹⁸ *J. A. F.-L.*, II (1889), 102. Cf. vol. XIV (1901), 43 (Western Md.).

¹¹⁹ *J. A. F.-L.*, IV (1891), 267 f.

¹²⁰ *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 116 f. For other cases, see vol. I (1888), 134 f; IV, 324 (Pa.).

testified that he had cut off and burned the ears of certain bewitched cattle, whereupon the defendant had come to his house "raging and scolding" and ceased only when the ears were taken out of the fire.¹²¹ Today the Alleghany mountaineers cure bewitched cattle by cutting off and burning the tips of their ears and tails, bewitched horses by pressing on their foreheads a red-hot iron ring.¹²² Butter and soft soap that will not 'come' are sometimes burned.¹²³ The spell of 'picking up tracks' can be counteracted only by fire.¹²⁴

Persons suffering from "cunjer" are sometimes cured by the application of an outworn doctrine of primitive medicine which partakes of the nature of sympathetic magic. The underlying idea is that disease is attributable to the presence of evil spirits in the patient, and that, by transferring the demon to some other animal or to an inanimate object, the sufferer may be healed.¹²⁵ In many communities sick persons are passed through a split tree or some other aperture that they may be cured. According to an article in the *Southern Workman and Hampton School Quarterly* for 1896 (IX, 225), an American conjure-doctor once cured a bewitched person by sawing a tree in the middle and putting the patient through it.¹²⁶ Of the practice in Lincoln County a century ago,

¹²¹ *Sadduc. Triumph.*, p. 327. The efficacy of the method is discussed in *An Advertisement to the Jury-Men of England*, edn. cit., p. 307.

¹²² *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 115.

¹²³ *J. A. F.-L.*, XIV (1901), 43 (Western Md.). For other methods of injuring the witch by means of the conjured object, see *J. A. F.-L.*, II, 293 (N. H.); IV, 126 (Pa.); VI, 70 (Vt.).

¹²⁴ *J. A. F.-L.*, IX (1896), 228.

¹²⁵ Cf. W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 4 ff., and a recent article on "Demonology and Bacteriology in Medicine" in the *Scientific Monthly*. Lawson writes that in his day Indian doctors, or conjurers, told their people that "all Distempers are the effects of Evil Spirits, or the Bad Spirit which has struck them with this or that Malady." The author gives a detailed description of the Indian method of healing by driving out the "bad spirit." (*Op. cit.*, p. 126 f.). See further *Vergleichende Volksmedizin*, II (1909), 858 ff. For a collection of modern cases of nervous disorders attributed to demon possession, see Rev. J. L. Nevius, *Demon Possession and Allied Themes*, Revell, [1896?], p. 111 ff.

¹²⁶ See further Brand, *Pop. Antics.*, III (1901), 288 ff.; Black, *op. cit.*, p. 34 ff.; Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, liv. If a child is "liver-grown," take it "by the left leg and pass it three times around the leg of a table." (*Ill. Med. Journ.*, April, 1917, p. 270).

Mr. Coon writes: "The usual means resorted to to restore those who suffered from the spells worked by the hair balls thrown by witches was the following:

"The witch doctor would set a ladder up against a house, pass the patient from bottom to top and from top to bottom through the rungs, something like platting the 'splits' in the seat of a chair. After this performance, the patient was passed through a large horse collar, and a kind of magic oil or grease was used to make round rings on the patient's back. Dipping the thumbs of the patient in this oil ended the performance."

Here belong many cures for warts. For example, in western North Carolina a wart may be removed by cutting it until it bleeds, putting a drop of the blood on a grain of corn, and feeding the corn to a duck.¹²⁷ Another cure for warts, communicated to Mr.

¹²⁷ *J. A. F.-L.*, xx (1907), 249. Compare the cure for chills used by negroes in Maryland and Virginia (*J. A. F.-L.*, xxvi (1913), 190). See further the article on warts in the *Boston Herald* for December 16, 1907, and the methods recommended in *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 113; Black, *Folk-Medicine*, 185. This type of remedy was much used during the Middle Ages (cf. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, xxx). In many communities, especially in Catholic countries, sick persons tie rags or parts of the clothing to the bushes surrounding wishing- or healing-wells, hoping by this operation to be freed of their ailments (cf. W. G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, Longmans, II (1902), 80 ff.). The belief that the evil spirit which causes the pain may be exorcised, explains the practice of "talking the fire" out of a burn. Mr. D. P. Smith writes that in eastern North Carolina certain especially gifted persons are still known as "fire-talkers" and that as a boy he was cured of a painful burn by an old lady who knew the magic formula. Mr. Coon asserts that, according to a belief formerly current in Lincoln County, the art of "talking out" fire could be taught to a woman only by a man, and vice versa. "The fire conjurer would hold one of his hands over the burn, repeat some words of enchantment, then remove the hand and blow the burn three times. If, for instance, the burn was on the hand, the blowing would be directed toward the ends of the fingers of the patient. If the burn was on the body, the blowing would be directed toward the nearest extremity. This performance was gone through with three times, each time the blowing was directed toward the nearest extremity and the hand of the conjurer moved over the wound in the direction of the extremity nearest the wound. The words were said in German, or 'Pennsylvania Dutch.' It was equivalent to losing the art for a conjurer of fire to reveal the enchanting words. These words were always said in a sing-song inaudible monotone that could not be understood by the bystanders." The formula used by a Devon-

Thomas Smith by John Dougherty, an uneducated farmer and blacksmith who has lived most of his life in the neighborhood of Zionville, runs as follows: "Take a little white flint rock for every wart you have, tie the flints up in a rag, then go to the nearest forks of the road; throw the rag with the flints over your shoulder into the road and walk off without looking back." Georgia negroes escape 'cunjer' "by burying the cunjer bag in the public road where people walk"; thus the spell will lose its force by being divided.¹²⁸ Among Afro-Americans in general a bewitched person may injure the witch by burning the 'trick,' throwing it into the water, or returning it to the conjurer.¹²⁹

Just as parts of the body may be used to produce conjure, so the spell may be removed by taking the parings of the toe and finger nails of the person bewitched and burying them at midnight at the foot of a white-oak tree.¹³⁰ In the same category belongs the following elaborate cure for bewitched children, said to have been in use a quarter of a century ago among the Alleghany mountains: "Measuring an infant, whose growth has been arrested, with an elastic cord that requires to be stretched in order to equal the child's length, will set it right again. If the spell be a wasting one, take three strings of similar or unlike colors, tie them to the front door or gate in such a manner that whenever either [is] opened there is some wear and tear on the cords. As use begins to tell on them, vigor will recommence."¹³¹

shire woman in healing a burn is quoted by Black (*op. cit.*, p. 81, note). In Devonshire, as in North Carolina, the formula for curing a burn or scald should be communicated by a man to a woman, and vice versa (George Soane, *New Curiosities of Literature*, 2d. edn., London, 1 [1849], 205).

¹²⁸ *J. A. F.-L.*, XIV (1901), 177.

¹²⁹ *J. A. F.-L.*, IX (1896), 226.

¹³⁰ F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, pp. 16, 102. In a seventeenth-century account given in Glanvill's *Sadduc. Triumph.*, (*edn. cit.*, p. 334), a bewitched woman was relieved and the witch injured when some of the sufferer's urine, corked in a bottle with nails, pins, and needles, was buried in the ground.

¹³¹ *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 116. Compare the "straining strings" used in connection with cures in Celtic communities (Wood-Martin, *op. cit.*, II, 71 ff.). The colors of the strings are sometimes important; see F. T. Elworthy, *op. cit.*, 58 f.; Black, *Folk-Medicine*, 108 ff. In Illinois the services of a "string-doctor" are still frequently in demand. In cases of

The American witch makes large use of small bundles or bags buried or otherwise hidden in or near the path of the intended victim (often under the doorstep of his house) and depending for their efficiency partly on sympathetic magic,¹³² partly on vague reminiscences of primitive medical practice transmitted through generations of conjurers and quack doctors. It is here that African tradition appears to have been most influential on the technique of modern witchcraft in the South,¹³³ but no one can read many

erysipelas the "string-doctor" "passes a cord over the eruption, says a few magic words and the cord must be burned" (*Ill. Med. Journ.*, Apr., 1917, 269).

¹³² The gradual rotting or rusting of the substances in the conjure-bag is accompanied by the wasting away of the victim (*J. A. F.-L.*, III [1890], 286). Cf. vol. XX, 160; X, 241.

¹³³ See the account of African negro charms given by Miss Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, London, 1897, p. 446 f.

The efficacy of "conjure" when properly placed and the methods used to counteract its effects are illustrated in a story told to Professor Benjamin Sledd, of Wake Forest College, by Sam Goff, a negro tenant on Professor Sledd's estate in Bedford County, Virginia. Sue, the wife of Ed Mayo, one of Sam's friends, suffered for two years from a mysterious ailment that prevented her from walking. At length, convinced that she had been bewitched by one Polly Ovaker, she dispatched her husband and Sam to Greenlea Ferry to ask the services of Jerry Ricketts, an albino, who had the reputation of being a powerful witch-doctor. Jerry, having assured himself that Sam and Ed believed in Witchcraft (without faith no cure could be effected), gave them a paper containing directions to be delivered to Sue, who fortunately could read. On returning to Ed's cabin, the two found Sue already partly recovered. On searching the premises in accordance with Jerry's instructions, they found a big-mouth black bottle containing a liquid hidden under the steps, and "a black gum-o'-lastic ball 'bout big as a taw" buried in the sand at the bottom of the spring. Sue poured the liquid into a hole under "the big rock at the end o' the crossin'-log down at the creek"; the ball she placed in the fire. In each case her action was followed by an explosion. The witch soon appeared and attempted unsuccessfully to borrow provisions, and about sunset she tried to steal a lap-ful of chips. That night a big black cat entered Ed's cabin, but was driven off by the dogs, which later returned "lookin' used up an' slashed all about the nose an' years." Seeing nothing of the witch next day, Sam and others, overcome by curiosity, crept over to Polly's house the following night and peeped in. "All at once a light as blindin' as forked lightnin' flared up, right in the middle o' the cabin." Next morning all that remained of the place was a pile of ashes. Professor Sledd offers to have Sam repeat the story for any readers who happen to be skeptical.

accounts of the contents of negro "cunjer-bags" without being reminded of the ingredients of the witches' caldron in *Macbeth* or of the diabolical paraphernalia which Tam O'Shanter saw one stormy night through the windows of Kirk-Alloway. Witch charms of today apparently contain a large number of survivals of the materia medica of the Middle Ages. Substances which, when properly applied, are beneficent in their effects, may, when used by unblest hands, produce naught but evil. Strange drugs, many of animal origin, play an important part in primitive medicine.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴Stones as amulets or cures are also widely used in folk-medicine. The society is indebted to Mr. D. P. Smith for the description of a "madstone." After recommending the madstone as a remedy for hydrophobia, the writer adds, "I will explain something about it, as I have seen one, and also seen one applied. There are only two or three in the world and they are in eastern North Carolina. It is a small stone about the size and shape of a piece of loaf sugar. It was originally used by the Indians and [from them] came to us. When placed near the wound, it sticks tightly . . . and often remains for several hours, at the end of which time the stone, that at first was a milky color, is a nasty greenish. . . . By soaking it in milk the stone recovers its natural color." In the autumn of 1917 the writer examined a madstone owned by Mr. J. B. Grimes, of Smithfield, Isle of Wight County, Virginia. The "stone" proved to be a small cube about 1/2" x 1/4" x 3/16", brownish on the larger surfaces, dark brown along the edges and on the ends. It looked like calcined bone or some porous wood, but Mr. Grimes was sure it was made of herbs. It was reported to have been made by one Seth Parker, of Cabin Point, Virginia. Accompanying the "stone" were the following printed instructions: "DIRECTIONS for using The Chinese Snake Stone. Scarify the wound before applying the Stone—take it off every morning and evening—put the Stone at each time, when taken off, into a glass of milk-warm water, and let it remain a few minutes, until it discharges itself of the poison—wash the wound in a strong solution of salt water, and scarify again, if necessary. After taking the Stone from the water, rub it dry in moderately warm ashes, and apply as before. This course should be repeated for the space of nine days, when a cure will be effected. The Stone must be applied to every wound. The patient must abstain from spirituous liquors. In case of fever, an occasional dose of salts will be found serviceable." Dr. Thomas M. Owen, Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Alabama, in a letter dated September 22, 1917, writes as follows: "After very extensive inquiry, I have located only one person who is said to make use of a madstone. His name and address is Dr. George M. Spencer, R. F. D., Greensboro, Ala." Accompanying the letter was a manuscript note on madstones from Dr. Owen's forthcoming *History of Alabama*. According to Dr. Owen, "some of these stones are reputed to have been

Dried reptiles, dried organs, excreta,¹⁸⁵ spiders,¹⁸⁶ ants, lizards, lobster claws, cat hair, and blood of deer, dove, rabbit, hog, or calf

taken from the stomach of a deer, but they were in fact nothing more than native rock, worn smooth, and which, because of their porosity, were capable when heated of drawing out, or absorbing liquids." The instructions given by Dr. Owen for using the madstone are much like those accompanying Mr. Grimes's specimen. (The *bezoar*, similar to the madstone in usage and frequently in composition, is a calcareous concretion found in the bodies of certain animals.) One of the writer's colleagues, who hails from Halifax County, Virginia, remembers having had a madstone applied to his own person when he was a boy. The stone resembled a fragment of ordinary whetstone. For further accounts of madstones or *bezoars* in Virginia, see Karl Knortz, *Zur amerikanischen Volkskunde*, p. 32 f. (Essex and Loudoun counties); *Denham Tracts*, II (1895), 233 f., (Richmond); James Thacker, *Observations on Hydrophobia*, Plymouth, Mass., 1812, p. 204 f. (Tappahannock); W. S. Walsh, *Handy Book of Curious Information*, Lippincott, 1913, p. 316 f. (Halifax Co.). For an account of madstones in the vicinity of Pulaaki, Tennessee, consult *The Denham Tracts*, *loc. cit.*,; for a *bezoar* taken from the stomach of a deer in the Chilhowee Mountains, see G. F. Kunz, *The Magic of Jewels and Charms*, Lippincott, 1915, p. 218. According to an early eighteenth-century report, *bezoars* were obtained from the bodies of deer in the Carolina mountains (Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 72). For a wonderfully effective Kentucky madstone, see Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 144. Snakestones, used to cure snake-bite and popularly supposed to be formed by serpents, are often similar in composition to madstones and *bezoars*. On these and similar objects used from remote antiquity to heal the bites of serpents and dogs, see G. F. Kunz, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, Lippincott, 1913, p. 367 ff.; E. N. Santini de Riolo, *Les pierres magiques*, Paris, 1906, p. 34 f.; Walter Johnson, *Folk Memory*, Oxford, 1908, p. 121 ff.; *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, XXVI (1889), 337, note; Geo. H. Bratley, *The Power of Gems and Charms*, London, 1907, p. 103 f.; *Orphei lithica*, ed., E. Abel, Berolini, 1881, p. 157 f.; W. G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, Longmans, II (1902), 67 ff.; *N. & Q.*, 9th Ser., VI, 477; VII, 12, 135, 335; Brand, *Pop. Antiqs.*, III (1901), 295; Eugene Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Lit.*, New York, 1916, p. 9, n. 40. For several of the references given above the writer is indebted to Professor Kittredge.

¹⁸⁵ Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

¹⁸⁶ On the bad reputation of the spider, see Kittredge, *The Old Farmer*, p. 104 ff. Dr. Brickell describes the symptoms of poisoning by spiders and prescribes an early eighteenth-century cure. His book recommends a number of medicaments composed of insects (*Natural History of North Carolina*, edn. cit., 159 ff.). On fleas and lice in folk-lore, see Karl Knortz, *Die Insekten in Sage, Sitte u. Literatur*, Annaberg (Sachsen), 1910, p. 47 ff.

were all anciently used for medical purposes.¹³⁷ In the United States reptiles,¹³⁸ animal matter of various kinds (including hair,¹³⁹ viscera, and urine¹⁴⁰), red pepper,¹⁴¹ assafoetida,¹⁴² the powder contained in a large mushroom called the "devil's snuff-box,"¹⁴³ a plant known as the "king-root,"¹⁴⁴ pokeberry root,¹⁴⁵ and other

¹³⁷ See R. H. True, "Folk Materia Medica" (*J. A. F.-L.*, xiv [1901], 105 ff.); Black, *op. cit.* p. 148 ff.; J. M. Beveridge, "Survivals of Superstition as Found in the Practice of Medicine" (*Ill. Med. Journ.*, April, 1917, p. 267 ff.); T. A. Wise, *Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine*, Calcutta, 1845, p. 114 ff. In 1889 it was reported among the colored population of South Carolina that doctors made castor oil out of negroes' blood (*J. A. F.-L.*, iii (1890), 285). The *Boston Post* for March 24th, 1908, announces the death of Mary Jane Fleming, the "veiled lady" of 80 Harvard Street, Cambridge, who made her living "by selling hand-made flatiron holders and 'conjure charms' such as dried birds' heads, 'black cat gizzards,' so called, and rabbits' feet." There was a rumor that the woman was a negress. In Georgia and South Carolina the hair-ball found in the stomach of a cow produces conjure and counteracts witchcraft (*J. A. F.-L.*, iii (1890), 286). In the early eighteenth century the Indian conjurers of eastern North Carolina were skilled in the use of herbs; they were credited with marvellous cures and were charged with wholesale poisoning (Lawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 129 f., 134).

¹³⁸ Dr. Brickell gives prescriptions for various remedies of reptilian origin (*op. cit.*, pp. 77, 141, 147). According to Mr. D. P. Smith, it is still a popular belief in eastern North Carolina that a live toad-frog cut in two and applied to the bite of a mad dog, will draw out the venom. During the early eighteenth century Indian children who persisted in eating dirt were forced to partake of a bat skinned and roasted (Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 73).

¹³⁹ Cf. F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 71 f., Karl Knortz, *Reptilien u. Amphibien*, p. 63.

¹⁴⁰ *J. A. F.-L.*, xvi (1903), 68; xvii, 36, 107. Cf. vol. xiv, 177.

¹⁴¹ *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 175 (Ga.-negro). In the sixteenth century sage was used in witch charms (Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 47).

¹⁴² To prevent horses from being bewitched, rub with lard or assafoetida (*J. A. F.-L.*, vii [1894] 114: Alleghany Mountains). Among the negroes of South Carolina assafoetida worn around the neck is an antidote for witch spells (*J. A. F.-L.*, ix, 129 f.). Cf. vol. xvii, 126; xxvii, 246 (S. C.); xiv, 39 (Md.). On the use of brimstone to prevent conjure, see *So. Workman*, xli (1912), 248.

¹⁴³ *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 177 f. (Ga.-negro). See also *So. Workman*, xxix (1900), 180.

¹⁴⁴ *J. A. F.-L.*, xii (1899), 229. Cf. vol. ix, 145.

¹⁴⁵ *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 177 (Ga.-negro).

herbs¹⁴⁶ enter into the practice of witchcraft or of popular medicine. Among the mountain whites of the Alleghanies "maiden-hair" mixed with the fodder will make bewitched cattle give milk.¹⁴⁷ The use of saliva is notorious.¹⁴⁸ In the mountains of North Carolina, making a cross and spitting in it is a familiar charm against the baneful influences of black cats and graveyard rabbits.¹⁴⁹ Mr. D. P. Smith, who has been good enough to record some traditions for the society, asserts that conjure-bags are still used by witches in eastern North Carolina, and relates that on a visit to a witch's cabin, he found the walls decorated with "such things as drying roots and plants, snake skins, dried frogs, [and] cow's horns." In Georgia conjure-doctors use the heads of snakes and "scorpions" in whiskey,¹⁵⁰ as well as any or all of the following assortment: earthworms, snake-skins, leaves or sticks tied with horse-hair, black owl's feathers, wings of bats, tails of rats, and feet of moles.¹⁵¹ A Georgia negro found under his door-step a "cunjer-bag" containing "small roots about an inch long, some black hair, a piece of snake skin, and some yaller graveyard dirt, dark yaller, right off some coffin."¹⁵² The number of effective combinations appears to be very large, but the following from Morotuck, Virginia, is recommended as especially powerful: "Take a bunch of hair or wool, a rabbit's paw, and a chicken gizzard, tie them up in a cotton rag and fasten the bundle to some implement which the man to be injured is in the habit of using."¹⁵³

The ancient belief that the influence of the moon, now recognized as determining the tides, extends over all animal and vegetable life, accounts for the fact that Georgia witches, like the weird sisters in *Macbeth*, gather their herbs during certain phases of the moon.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, v (1892), 182 (Pa.).

¹⁴⁷ *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 114.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 184; *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, xxxix (1891), 373 f. "If your right hand itches, spit in it and rub it in your pocket; you are going to get some money" (*So. Workman*, xli (1912), 248).

¹⁴⁹ F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 17; *J. A. F.-L.*, xx (1907), 246 (N. C.).

¹⁵⁰ *So. Workman*, xxix (1900), 443.

¹⁵¹ *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 178.

¹⁵² *J. A. F.-L.*, xiii (1900), 228.

¹⁵³ *J. A. F.-L.*, x (1899), 241. For other combinations, see *J. A. F.-L.*, iii, 206 (Ga.), 282 (Ala.); vii, 154 (Va.); xii, 289; xiii, 212 (La.); *Century Mag.*, xxi (1885-86), 820.

In some districts it is also held that "cunjer" should be laid down on the increase of the moon, so that it will "rise up and grow."¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴*J. A. F.-L.*, XIII (1900), 228. Among the folk the phases of the moon are important for the success of many operations. In western North Carolina "all plants which produce fruit above ground must be planted in the light of the moon, not necessarily in a new moon; and all plants which produce fruit underground, potatoes and such, must be planted in the dark of the moon. Also the hogs must be killed in the dark of the moon, or the bacon and lard will shrink" (*J. A. F.-L.*, XX (1907), 242). Plant seeds, make soap, kill meat, and wash and dye warp on the increase of the moon; otherwise your labor will be in vain. For evidence, see *J. A. F.-L.*, VI (1893), 299 (Tenn.); VII, 305; XII, 265 (Ga.); X, 77 (Western Canada); X, 214 (Newfoundland); XII, 133 (Southern Highlands); XXVI, 190 (Va. and Md.); XXVII, 245 (S. C.); F. D. Bergen, *Current Superstitions*, 1896, 120 f. (Ala.), 157 (Pa.); Gummere, *op. cit.*, 59 (Pa.); and Kittredge, *The Old Farmer*, 305 f. (N. E.). Do not lay shingles in the dark of the moon (*J. A. F.-L.*, XXVII, 245: S. C.). See further the *Chicago Tribune* for May 4th, 1915, p. 1; *The Folk-Lorist* (Journal of the Chicago Folk-Lore Soc.), I (1892), p. 56; *Popular Treatises on Science Written during the Middle Ages*, ed., Thomas Wright, London, 1841, p. 15. In the Cumberland Mountains a "fence worm" laid in the dark of the moon will sink into the ground (E. B. Miles, *The Spirit of the Mountains*, 106). An Old English astrological tract asserts that timber felled at the full moon will resist decay longest (Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 269). Cf. Soane, *New Curiosities of Lit.*, p. 146. The following from Lincoln county, N. C., are communicated by Mr. Coon: "You should always plant potatoes in the dark of the moon, between new moon and full moon, so that the hills will be full. . . . You should plant onions when the point of the moon is turned downwards, so that the onions may grow large and not be all tops and seeds. . . . In order that corn may ear well near the ground and not grow so tall, it must be planted when the little moon is turned down and on to the time when it is new. . . . If you wish the color to be fast, the coloring should be done in the light of the moon, especially if a good fast blue [is] desired. . . . Every one should cut pine timber in the new moon and oak timber in the dark of the moon. Pine timber cut in the light of the moon will season well; in the dark of the moon it will be soggy. Boards should be put on the roof 'in the little moon down,' to keep them [from] turning up toward the sun. . . . Hogs should be killed from the 'new to full moon' in order to keep the meat from 'cooking away' and in order that it [may] 'season' well. Manure should be put on the fields between the new moon and the first quarter. If put on the field in the light of the moon, it would do little good. . . . Wheat should be ground in the dark of the moon in October, so that bugs and worms [will] remain clear of the flour and it [will] remain good for twelve months." On the importance of the moon in popular medicine, see Black, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff., 151. In the *Ill. Med. Journ.* for April, 1917, p. 270,

The practice of witchcraft and of popular medicine in the United States still preserves traces of an ancient and wide-spread superstition which attributes magic properties to the human hand.¹⁵⁵ Healing by the laying on of hands (familiar in the custom of touching for the King's Evil) or by contact with the hand of a corpse, depends ultimately on the belief that the mysterious powers of the human hand especially fit it for transferring disease. Dr.

Dr. Beveridge writes, "I have been asked the time of the moon to wean a baby and have been compelled to confess my ignorance. A family once delayed a tonsillectomy. The father explained later that they waited for the dark of the moon to lessen hemorrhage." According to Dr. G. H. Macon, some North Carolina midwives still predict the date of their patients' delivery by the phases of the moon (*Trans. Med. Soc. of N. C.*, Raleigh, 1918, p. 217).

It would be interesting to discover what traditions persist in North Carolina regarding the Man of the Signs, or the Moon's Man, the figure of a man surrounded by the twelve signs of the Zodiac which is still to be seen in many almanacks in circulation throughout the country districts. I think I have heard that in Orange County it is regarded as dangerous to castrate hogs except "when the signs are in the feet." Mr. Coon records several rules formerly observed in Lincoln County. Beans should be planted "in the sign of the 'scales,' so that the stalks will be weighted with beans." Cotton seed should also be planted "in the sign of the 'scales,' so that the cotton will weigh heavily." Cucumber seeds should be sowed in the sign of the 'twins,' "so that the vines may produce twice as many cucumbers as otherwise." "Cabbage seed should be sowed in the sign of the 'head' for obvious reasons." "Calves should be weaned in the sign of the fishes. At that time they will soon forget their mothers. If calves [are] weaned in the sign of the feet, they [will] not hawl and lament the loss of their mothers. Calves ought never to be weaned in the sign of the head." According to the *Kalendar of Shepherdes*, an early sixteenth-century English translation of a French compendium of scientific lore, "a man ought not to make incysyon ne touche with yren ye membre gouerned of any sygne the day that the mone is in it for fere of to grete effusyon of blode that myght happen, ne in lykewyse also when the sonne is in it, for the daunger & peryll that myght ensue." (Quoted by Kittredge, *The Old Farmer*, p. 53). Dr. J. M. Beveridge (*Ill. Med. Journ.*, Apr., 1917, p. 270) is authority for the following: "A Minnesota doctor writes me that a woman would not allow an operation on her child till the sign of the zodiac pointed to the part of the body requiring the operation. . . . I know a doctor who kept a record of the sign of the zodiac in which his obstetric cases occurred."

¹⁵⁵ On the general subject of the arm, hand, and finger in popular lore, see Karl Knortz, *Der menschliche Körper in Sage, Brauch u. Sprichwort*, Würzburg, 1909, p. 141 ff.; *Vergleichende Volksmedizin*, II (1909), 877.

Frank Baker, in a paper read on May 4, 1886, before the Anthropological Society of Washington (D. C.), mentions a number of recent instances in which persons touched the hands of corpses in order to be healed of various disorders.¹⁵⁶ Among the mountain whites of the South witch-doctors still cure certain ailments by gently rubbing the part affected, at the same time repeating a meaningless formula.¹⁵⁷ "If a rapid cure is to be effected, interrupted pressure must be made with a hand in which a mole has been squeezed to death."¹⁵⁸ Alabama negroes believe that one of the ways to cure toothache is to place in the mouth the finger of a corpse.¹⁵⁹ A voodoo charm from Louisiana includes, along with a lock of hair from a dead natural child, a powder made of "the little finger of a person who committed suicide" and other ingredients, all to be wrapped in a piece of a shroud and placed under the victim's pillow.¹⁶⁰ Mrs. Fanny D. Bergen, in her book on *Animal and Plant Lore* (p. 78) asserts that in southern Georgia negroes still believe in the "hand of glory" (*main de gloire*)¹⁶¹—a gruesome appliance consisting of a human hand cut from the corpse of

¹⁵⁶ The paper appeared under the title, "Anthropological Notes on the Human Hand," in the *American Anthropologist*, I (1888), 51 ff. See further F. D. Bergen, *Current Superstition*, 131 f.; Black, *Folk-Medicine*, pp. 100 ff., 176; Karl Knortz, *Zur amerikanischen Volkskunde*, p. 30.

¹⁵⁷ A wizard who described his method of procedure to Mr. James Mooney, said that he rubbed the patient until he felt the disease enter at the tips of his fingers, then mount gradually to his arms, and so pass into his body. At first he could shake off the disease current from his fingers as one shakes drops of water from the hand, but as it became stronger it filled his whole body. When the sensation became unendurable, he rushed to the nearest stream and washed the contagion away. "According to his own statement," says Mr. Mooney, "the ordeal always left him in an exhausted condition, and it seemed as if he himself really had faith in the operation." *J. A. F.-L.*, II (1889), p. 102. Is it still believed anywhere in North Carolina that murder can be detected by the bleeding of the corpse at the touch of the guilty person? On the "ordeal by touch" in New England, see Kittredge, *The Old Farmer*, 74 ff.

¹⁵⁸ *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 111 f. Cf. IV, 326 (Pa.).

¹⁵⁹ *So. Workman*, XXIX (1900), 443.

¹⁶⁰ *J. A. F.-L.*, XIII (1900), 212. Compare the use of human bones by Georgia negroes as talismans against witchcraft (*J. A. F.-L.*, XIV, 178).

¹⁶¹ The name is a deformation by popular etymology of the Old French *mandegore*, originally *mandragore*, the mandrake, the root of which was anciently used for narcotic, aphrodisiac, and magical purposes. (*N. E. D.*, s. v. "hand of glory.") Cf. *Vergl. Volksmedizin*, I (1908), 16 ff.

a criminal and used as a candlestick by malefactors during the Middle Ages.¹⁶² According to popular belief the "hand of glory" casts into a stupor those in whose presence it is lighted. The subject has found literary treatment in Harrison Ainsworth's *Rookwood*, Scott's *Antiquary* (chap. xvii), Barham's *Ingoldsby Legends* (The Nurse's Story), and Southey's *Thalaba* (bk. v).¹⁶³ A generation ago, says Dr. Baker, "detached portions of the dead hand were quite commonly used among the illiterate classes for some supposed lucky influence that they bring." As lately as the winter of 1885-6 a janitor in the Georgetown Medical College stole from the dissecting room a human hand, which he later presented to his paramour, a dissolute Southern woman of the poorer class. The woman said she expected to use the gift "for luck and to find money and treasure with."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² The candles generally contained as one of their ingredients grease distilled from corpses. Cf. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, 98; St. John D. Seymour, *Irish Witchcraft and Demonology*, 27; Grimm, *Deut. Mythol.*, II, 898, n. 1. Qy.: have witches in the South ever been charged with digging up bodies for purposes of sorcery? The practise was legislated against under James I (Kittredge, *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, XVIII (1907), 7, n. 4). Cf. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 276. The statute is quoted by Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 137 f. During the great period of witchcraft prosecutions in Western Europe witches were accused of sacrificing their children to the devil (Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 25), of eating human flesh (*op. cit.*, p. 26), and of boiling corpses to make grease "whereby they ride in the aire" (*op. cit.*, p. 32). In 1590 a Scottish witch confessed that she and other persons had been commanded by the devil to dig up three dead bodies and use parts of them "to make a powder . . . to do evil with" (*Sadduc. Triumph.*, p. 399). The voodoo doctors of the West Indies, especially Haiti, have often been charged with murdering infants for purposes of witchcraft. See *Am. Anthropol.*, I (1888), 288 f.; H. Prichard, *Where Black Rules White*, N. Y., 1900, 74 ff.; *So. Workman*, XXXVI, 401 ff.; *Folk-Lore*, XXVI (1915), 255. The *New York World Magazine* for September 20th, 1908, contains an account of how during August of the same year a negro in Havana, Cuba, stole a white child for the purpose of procuring its heart and blood, "which had been prescribed by witches as medicine for his mother." On the general subject of voodoo, see F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 126 f. It is said that apothecaries still receive inquiries for human oil to be used for medicinal purposes (Karl Knortz, *Zur amerikanischen Volkskunde*, p. 24).

¹⁶³ See also H. M. Rideout's story in the *Sat. Eve. Post* for June 26th, 1915.

¹⁶⁴ Mr. T. J. Westropp (*Folk-Lore*, XXII (1911), 340) reports a recent "case of stirring (bewitched) butter with a dried human hand" in order to make it come. The events are said to have taken place in Ireland.

An extension of the same general belief makes it lucky to carry the forepaw of an animal. A rabbit's foot carried about the person is a well-known talisman to insure good luck. A recent communication to the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society recommends the right hind foot, but the more common opinion seems to be that the left hind foot has the greater power. The rabbit should be one that frequents a graveyard,¹⁸⁵ or should be caught under a gallows. If the charm is to be most effective, the foot should be cut from the living animal, the rabbit should be released, and the foot should then be dipped (three times?) in "stump-water" (at midnight?)¹⁸⁶ In 1886 the poor whites of North Carolina believed that a mole's paw, cut from the living animal, was especially efficacious in bringing good luck,¹⁸⁷ and today in North Carolina a child who wears a mole's paw around its neck will not be sick while teething.

Witches have long been accused of eating corpses or of using them otherwise in their profession. A shocking negro story from Guilford County, North Carolina, tells of a woman who refused to eat with her husband and who was subsequently discovered to be a devourer of dead bodies. At night, when her husband was asleep, "she would slip out . . . an' go out to de graveyards. An' one day, when they had a buryin', he decided to watch her. That night, when she got up an' got dressed an' went out, he dressed an' went out behin'. He hid behin' a bush. She would dig up that body an' cut off slashes of 'em jus' like meat, an' eat 'em." Thereupon the husband slipped quietly back to bed. When

¹⁸⁵ F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 12. Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, XII (1899), 261 (Ga.). According to certain classical authorities whose works found their way into Old English, parts of some animals used as cures are effective only when cut from the living body (Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, pp. xvi, xviii, xxix, 327 f.). A communication from eastern North Carolina recommends a live frog cut in half and applied to the wound as a cure for the bite of a mad dog. For pains in the joints an English prescription directs that a toad be tied belly downwards on the affected part (Richard Blakeborough, *Wit, Character, Folklore and Customs of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, 1911, p. 130). According to a belief still prevalent in some parts of Illinois thrush may be cured by placing a live minnow or small frog in the mouth of the patient (*Ill. Med. Journ.*, Apr., 1917, 269).

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, II (1889), 100.

¹⁸⁷ *Am. Anthropol.*, I, 54.

accused of her action, the woman beat her husband severely and disappeared. "An' she was gone, an' never was foun' any mo'." ¹⁶⁸ In one of the Lancashire trials of 1612 a witness told the court that she had seen two witches dig up the body of a child and afterwards cook and eat it. ¹⁶⁹

Though the use of corpses is less common in modern than in ancient witchcraft, witches of the present day, especially among the negroes of the South, have great faith in the baneful effects of "graveyard dirt." According to a negro superstition current in Georgia, the soil, to be effective, must be taken from the grave one day after the funeral. ¹⁷⁰ It is, however, carefully guarded by the "hants," and even witch-doctors can get it only by the use of charms. ¹⁷¹ When placed on the ground, it has the peculiar property of working its way down to the same depth as the lid of the coffin from which it was taken. A Georgia negro who had been made ill by graveyard dirt placed under his house, took out as much as he could get at and burned it; but some he couldn't reach, as it kept sinking into the ground. ¹⁷²

The elf-shot, so deadly to man and beast during the Middle Ages, finds a close parallel in the missiles used by the modern witch. ¹⁷³ Among the white population of the Alleghany Mountains witches kill cattle by shooting them with balls of hair, ¹⁷⁴ and in western Maryland "witches' bullets" of pith or hair are often found in the bodies of dead animals. ¹⁷⁵ Mr. Coon reports that a century

¹⁶⁸ *J. A. F.-L.*, xxx, 187. In three other stories from Guilford County a mother kills and cooks her child (*Ibid.*, 196 f.).

¹⁶⁹ Wright, *Narratives*, II, 129.

¹⁷⁰ *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 180. Cf. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, 95 ff. In England certain plants used in the preparation of home-made remedies, should be gathered from a grave (E. M. Wright, *Rustic Speech and Folk-Lore*, Ox. Univ. Press, 1913, p. 235).

¹⁷¹ *J. A. F.-L.*, xiii (1900), 228.

¹⁷² *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 176; cf. III (1890), 284 f. According to an ante-bellum tradition from Alabama, dogs cannot track you if you put graveyard dirt in your shoes (*So. Workman*, xxxiii (1904), 52).

¹⁷³ In country districts of the British Isles prehistoric flint weapons are believed to be elf-shots, and water into which a stone celt or arrow-head has been dipped, is used as a remedy for elf-shotten cattle or persons. Cf. E. M. Wright, *Rustic Speech*, 235; Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths*, I, p. 41 f.

¹⁷⁴ *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 114. Cf. Glanvill, *Sadduc. Triumph.*, 398.

¹⁷⁵ *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 42.

ago in Lincoln County, North Carolina, witches shot their missiles mostly by night and that "the slightest touch of the breath of those swift flying balls resulted in loss of youth and physical strength." According to an ancient belief worms in men and beasts are elfish demons,¹⁷⁶ and it is well known that modern witches can "throw" lizards and other vermin into the bodies of their victims. A mixture used by witches in Georgia consists of dried snakes, "scorpions," "ground-puppies," and "toad-frogs" reduced to a powder. When this preparation is taken internally, the "varmints" come to life and devour the body.¹⁷⁷ In one case a conjure-doctor, employed to remove a spell of this kind, took from a man's leg a lizard and a grasshopper.¹⁷⁸

A considerable number of witch-spells and counter-charms are justified by the wide-spread popular belief that reversal in process involves reversal in result; if doing a thing one way works good, doing it the opposite way produces evil. Thus Christian symbols and formulae, so often employed against witchcraft,¹⁷⁹ are used in

¹⁷⁶ Grimm, *Deut. Mythol.*, II, 965 f. Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, XXII (1900), 217. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries bewitched persons sometimes vomited pins, needles, wool, straw, cotton yarn, feathers, and even buttons. For instances, see Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, p. 106; Glanvill, *Sadduc. Triumph.*, p. 315; Wright, *Narratives*, II, 133. According to Dalton (*op. cit.*, p. 278), such vomiting is an evidence of being bewitched.

¹⁷⁷ *J. A. F.-L.*, XIV (1901), 180. The following note, hitherto unpublished, is found in the Bodleian manuscript, *Gough Ireland 3* (p. 25b), which contains "Notes of remarkable occurrences in Ireland, from about 1731 to 1753, and of some curiosities there, by Edward Steele": "On the last Friday in April 1747, Mary Saunders, of Stronkelly, in the Barony of Coshbridge, in the County of Waterford, made Oath before William Smith of Hedborough, Esq; Justice of the Peace for that County, that she threw out of her Stomach, in Consequence of some Remedies, particularly a Vomit given her by Dominick Sarsefield, Esq; Doctor of Physick of Cork, a four footed Creature, about four Inches long, and one broad, dead, of a black Colour, resembling a small Water Rat, or Weasel, which she produced to him."

¹⁷⁸ *J. A. F.-L.*, XIII (1900), 228 (Ga.-negro). A lame man in Chester-town, Md., said a snake had been conjured into his leg (*J. A. F.-L.*, III (1890), 285). An Atlanta (Ga.) negro was terrified because he believed his vitals had been set on fire (*J. A. F.-L.*, III, 281). Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, I, 83; V, 123 (Ark.); IX, 225 f.

¹⁷⁹ The sign of the cross is, of course, a familiar means of averting evil. See F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 17; *J. A. F.-L.*, XX (1907), 246; and p. 267, n. 149, above. For other uses of the cross in Christian

reverse order by the witches themselves. For example, in Alabama witches conjure by saying the Lord's Prayer backwards.¹⁸⁰ On the Eastern Shore of Maryland reading the Bible forwards, very properly prevents injury from ghosts after they have got into the house, but, strange to say, reading it backwards prevents them from

formulae and in charms against witchcraft, see *J. A. F.-L.*, iv, 324 f.; xvii, 127 f. (Pa.); xiv, 178 (Ga.). If you sleep with a bible under your head, witches will not disturb you (*J. A. F.-L.*, ix, 129 f.: S. C.-negro). Among the mountain whites of the Alleghanies a bible is used by witch-doctors in discovering thieves (*J. A. F.-L.*, vii, 113). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries persons suspected of witchcraft were sometimes weighed against a bible. For an American case, see *J. A. F.-L.*, v, 149 f.; (cf. ii, 32) but contrast Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 55. Occasionally quacks or ignorant dabblers in the black art use Christian words and symbols in their practice. For cases in point, see *J. A. F.-L.*, i (1888), 138 f.; iii, 284 f.; Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 83. Compare the crossed feathers in the voodoo charm described in the *Century Mag.*, xxi, 820. For an early instance, see *Sadduc. Triumph.*, 398. Lawson saw an Indian conjurer use the sign of the cross (*op. cit.*, p. 129).

¹⁸⁰ F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, 127. Reciting a verse of Scripture backwards forms part of a charm for summoning Satan given in the *J. A. F.-L.*, xxv (1912), 134. According to an English belief current during the seventeenth century, a witch cannot say the Lord's Prayer (*Sadduc. Triumph.*, 317). Cf. E. L. Linton, *Witch Stories*, London, 1861, p. 381.

Cabalistic signs, abracadabra, and scraps of foreign languages, especially Latin and Greek, have long been used by dabblers in magic. A corruption of the well-known word-square,

S A T O R
A R E P O
T E N E T
O P E R A
R O T A S

is said to have been in use not long since among the witch-doctors of the Alleghany Mountains (*J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 113). The form communicated to Mr. Porter by a mountain conjurer omits the word OPERA. The formula is correctly given in "The Long Hidden Friend" (*J. A. F.-L.*, xvii, 127), a reprint of a vulgar treatise on occult lore long current in German Pennsylvania, and in the dissertation on Anglo-Saxon charms published in the same journal (xxii, 113). See further F. T. Elworthy; *The Evil Eye*, 401, where it is said to be used with the Lord's Prayer to heal the bite of a mad dog. On magic writings as remedies, see Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 165 ff.

entering.¹⁸¹ The negroes of central Georgia say that if a rabbit crosses the road ahead of you, you should not only cross yourself, at the same time making a cross on the ground and spitting in it, but also walk backwards over the spot where the rabbit's path intersects your own.¹⁸² A similar tradition prevails among the negroes of Virginia and Maryland.¹⁸³ Unless soft soap and baking mixtures are stirred continually in the same direction, they will not be successful. It may be added that the direction, even when not indicated (as in a case from North Carolina),¹⁸⁴ is probably not a matter of indifference.¹⁸⁵ In versions of the superstition current in several other states the proper direction is "with the sun"¹⁸⁶—perhaps a survival of the dextral, or sunwise, circuit so common in certain savage rites.

In some cases merely turning an article of clothing inside out serves to avert the witch's spell, the popular notion apparently being that the changed appearance prevents the witch from recognizing her victim. In western North Carolina those disturbed by nightmare drive away the troublesome visitor by getting out of bed and turning their shoes over.¹⁸⁷ It is a matter of common knowledge that turning the stockings inside out before retiring prevents disturbance from witches. In central Georgia negroes keep away spirits and witches by wearing their coats inside out.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸¹ *J. A. F.-L.*, II (1889), 298, n. 2. Cf. F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 15.

¹⁸² *J. A. F.-L.*, XII (1899), 262. Cf. *So. Workman*, XLI (1912), 246.

¹⁸³ *J. A. F.-L.*, XXVI (1913), 190.

¹⁸⁴ *J. A. F.-L.*, XX (1907), 243.

¹⁸⁵ Scot (*Disc. of Witchcraft*, p. 163) quotes Plutarch to the effect that the unlucky side from which to receive an augury, is the right, "because terrene and mortall things are opposite & contrarie to divine and heavenlie things, for that which the gods deliver with the right hand, falleth to our left side; and so contrariwise."

¹⁸⁶ F. D. Bergen, "Survivals of Sun-Worship," *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, XLVII (1895), 249 ff.; *Current Superstitions*, pp. 123, 158 f.

¹⁸⁷ *J. A. F.-L.*, v (1892), 115. In the vicinity of Zionville, North Carolina, putting on a garment wrong side out in the morning is regarded as a portent of ill luck for the day. If a woman unwittingly puts on her dress inside out, she will have good luck inside of twelve hours (Karl Knortz, *Zur amerikanischen Volkskunde*, Tübingen, 1906, p. 5). So in some sections of the Carolina mountains (*J. A. F.-L.*, II, 101).

¹⁸⁸ *J. A. F.-L.*, XII (1899), 261. Cf. XVII, 108 (Pa.). To stop a screech-owl from holl'ing, turn the pocket inside out (*So. Workman*, XXXIII [1904], 51; F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 20: Ala.-negro); or

The story of Phoebe Ward, given above, illustrates one of the witch's oldest and most firmly established powers. Like the *striga* of classical tradition and the Raging Host of Germanic folk-lore, the modern hag can fly through the air.¹⁸⁹ That the power of levitation was also attributed to the Indian medicine-men of North Carolina during the early eighteenth century, is shown by the following statement made by Lawson on the authority of eye-witnesses: "They [the witnesses] have seen [a Chowan conjurer] take a reed about two foot long in his mouth, and stand by a Creek-Side, where he called twice or thrice with the Reed in his mouth, and at last, has opened his Arms and fled over the Creek, which might be near a quarter of a Mile wide or more."¹⁹⁰ From the data at hand it appears that in the South, at least among the negro population, the familiar tradition that witches ride broom-sticks on their midnight excursions, exists more as a sophisticated than as a genuinely popular superstition.¹⁹¹ The witch's mount is most frequently an animal—either a beast *sans phrase* or a transformed human being.¹⁹² As Mr. Stephenson's story shows, the witch's flight is facilitated by the utterance of a magic formula¹⁹³ and is

turn the pockets and set the shoes upside down (*J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 305: Ga.). On superstitions connected with turning the garments, see further Karl Knortz, *Amerikanischer Aberglaube der Gegenwart*, p. 25.

¹⁸⁹ For other recent instances, see *J. A. F.-L.*, ii (1889), 292 (N. H.); x, 240 f.; xii, 68 (Md.-negro); xiv, 40; xxvii, 306 f. (N. Y.). For earlier evidence, see Grimm, *Deut. Mythol.*, ii, 878 f. Cf. Thomas Ady, *A Candle in the Dark*, London, 1656, 108; *Remains Historical and Literary of the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester* (Chetham Soc.), 1845; *passim*; *The Witches of Northamptonshire*, London, 1612 (in a collection of reprints of early tracts in the Harvard College Library).

¹⁹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 129. Cf. Brickell, *op. cit.*, p. 375. For another Indian story involving levitation, see *Am. Anthropol.*, N. S. ii (1909), 269 ff.

¹⁹¹ In 1663 a woman named Julian Cox, tried in Somersetshire (England), said that she had once met three witches "upon three Broom-staves, born up about a yard and a half from the ground" (*Sadduc. Triump.*, p. 328). A woman tried for witchcraft in Pennsylvania in 1683, confessed that she had ridden through the air on a broomstick (Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 39). In the sixteenth century witches were said to dance at their sabbaths with brooms held aloft in their hands (Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, p. 32 f.).

¹⁹² See below, p. 281, and the western Maryland story, *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 40 f.

¹⁹³ In 1664 the English witch Elizabeth Style confessed that while passing through the air, she and her confederates repeated a rigmarole somewhat like Phoebe Ward's rhyme (*Sadduc. Triump.*, p. 297).

brought to a disastrous conclusion if she speaks while crossing a stream¹⁹⁴ — a fact which suggests the old belief about spirits' inability to cross running water and the well recognized power of the spoken word to counteract magic.

The popular fear of witches on their nocturnal peregrinations is greatly enhanced by the fact that these night-flying terrors can enter a house through any small aperture such as a keyhole.¹⁹⁵ The royal author of *Daemonologie* asserts that during the late sixteenth century witches believed themselves capable of 'piercing through whatsoever open the aire may enter in at,'¹⁹⁶ and the accusation against the Virginia witch Grace Sherwood in 1698 that she had escaped from Anthony Barnes's house through "the Key hole or crack of the door,"¹⁹⁷ is paralleled by similar charges brought against English and Continental witches during the two preceding centuries.¹⁹⁸ In a story from North Carolina received some years ago, a witch succeeded in getting into a house by uttering the words, "Through the key-hole I go!" and in another account from the same district a witch's daughter who had been carried by her mother into a neighbor's house, broke the charm by speaking and was thus unable to escape.¹⁹⁹ The unwelcome visitor may also be captured if the hole is stopped, since "for witches this is law: where they have entered, there also they withdraw." This principle furnishes the rationale of a large group of stories in which witches are confused with swan-maidens and other captured fairy women, familiar in European folk-lore. The following is typical and should find parallels in North Carolina. A miller in Frederick County, Maryland, who was troubled with nightmare, decided that his nocturnal visitor was a witch and accordingly one night stopped the keyhole of his room. Next morning he found a beautiful girl cowering in the cupboard. After keeping the

¹⁹⁴ Compare the fate of the young man who spoke while riding a witch's calf in the New York story, *J. A. F.-L.*, xvii (1914), 30 ff.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. *Autobiography of Brantley York*, p. 8; Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, p. 8. Scot disbelieves the accounts of witches' "entering into men's houses, through chinks and little holes, where a flea can scarcely wring out" (p. 51).

¹⁹⁶ *Edm. cit.*, p. 114.

¹⁹⁷ See above, p. 220, n. 9.

¹⁹⁸ See, for example, Wright, *Narratives*, II, pp. 116, 176.

¹⁹⁹ See above, p. 228, n. 20.

maiden for some time as a servant, he married her. For several years the captive remained a dutiful and apparently contented wife, but on discovering one day that the keyhole had been unstopped, she escaped.²⁰⁰ In a large number of cases witches are accused of entering houses to steal, as in the following negro story from Guilford County, North Carolina. A man who was losing molasses out of his cellar watched one night outside the house to catch the thieves. Three witches appeared, and each, saying "In an' out I go," dropped her garments and went into the cellar. The man kept the clothes, and presumably caught the witches.²⁰¹

Much of the trouble that witches cause on their nocturnal rambles results from the exercise of powers which they possess in common with two much dreaded visitants of old—the incubus and the vampire: the former a lascivious demon close kin to the nightmare, who sometimes pressed the sleeper to death;²⁰² the latter a ghost or corpse (often of a suicide or murderer), who sucked the victim's blood till he died of exhaustion.²⁰³ During the Dark and

²⁰⁰ *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 40. Cf. vol. xix, 243.

²⁰¹ *J. A. F.-L.*, xxx (1917), 188.

²⁰² The tendency to attribute to witches characteristics of the succubus is also of long standing. See Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, pp. 8, 81. The witches themselves were formerly accused of having sexual relations with an incubus or even with the devil (Cf. Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 26 ff.). Scot asserts that in his day it was a universally accepted belief among authorities on witches that "the divell plaieth *Succubus* to the man, and carrieth from him the seed of generation, which he delivereth as *Incubus* to the woman, who manie times that waie is gotten with child; which will verie naturallie (they saie) become a witch, and such a one they affirme *Merline* was" (p. 56). Robin Goodfellow was also the son of an incubus and a mortal maid (*Percy Soc.*, II, 6 ff.). On the incubus doctrine, see Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, xxxiii ff.

²⁰³ The folk-lore of the Southern States still contains traces of the belief that the dead may return to injure the living. The negroes of the South Carolina coast sometimes drive a stake through a grave "to keep the spirits from haunting," and it is said that among the negroes of Norfolk, Virginia, the position of the door-knobs is changed after a death, "that the ghost may not find his way in" (F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 15). Successive deaths in the same family from consumption, poor sanitation, or other causes, are sometimes attributed to the work of vampires. The following is current among the Geechee negroes along the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia: "If you cannot raise your children, bury on its face the last one to die and those coming after will live" (*So. Workman*, xxxiv [1905], 634). See further *J. A. F.-L.*, iv, (1891),

Middle Ages the incubus was much given to dishonoring mortal women in their sleep, and it is still known in southeastern Virginia that male witches sometimes visit their neighbors' wives at night. According to a sixteenth-century belief, the devil can assume the likeness of female witches and take their places in bed beside their husbands while the women themselves are absent on some diabolical errand. Vampire-like witches are still found in some parts of the United States. For example, in Clinton County, Pennsylvania, children who are hag-ridden at night are found in the morning "bruised on the chest and sore, with nipples bleeding from sucking."²⁰⁴ Human beings are, of course, often "ridden" by witches, and it is recorded that a girl in one of the mountain districts of the South was "pressed to death" by a witch who came night after night in the form of a black cat and sat on her chest.²⁰⁵

253; Karl Knortz, *Der menschliche Körper*, p. 199; and p. 241, n. 60, of this paper. The theory that corpses do not always rest easy is, of course, strengthened by the numerous more or less authentic instances of bodies interred before the complete extinction of life. The following story, told by Col. Jas. G. Burr in an address delivered at Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1890, is said to be vouched for by persons of unimpeachable veracity. Two young gentlemen of Wilmington agreed that whichever died first should return to visit the other. Not long afterward one of them was killed by a fall from his horse. A few days after the funeral the survivor received a visit from his deceased friend. The latter revealed the fact that he had been buried alive, and added, "Open the coffin and you will see I am not lying in the position in which you placed me." The body was disinterred and was discovered to be lying on its face. (*James Sprunt Historical Monographs* (Univ. of N. C.), 4 [1904], 130 ff.). Dr. J. E. West, who was drowned while trying to ford the Tuckaseegee River at Bear Ford on March 19, 1881, appeared after a fortnight to the mother of one of his patients, told her where to find the body, and so impressed upon her the necessity of recovering the remains, that she dispatched a search-party in accordance with the directions given by the drowned man. The "corpse was found in the precise place she had pointed out to them." J. P. Arthur (*op. cit.*, p. 338), citing a personal letter from Colonel D. K. Collins. Most ghosts of today apparently have no purpose; this was one of those "robust and earnest ghosts of our ancestors" spoken of with such respect by Andrew Lang, whose admirable *Book of Dreams and Ghosts* should be consulted for a large collection of authentic cases.

²⁰⁴ *J. A. F.-L.*, iv (1891), 324. Cf. *So. Workman*, xl, 587. For a seventeenth century case of a demoniacal creature which sucked a girl's blood through her nipples, see Fairfax, *Daemonologia*, *edn. cit.*, p. 46.

²⁰⁵ *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 114 f. About 1678 a girl in Lincolnshire, Eng., had a somewhat similar experience (*Sadduc. Triumph.*, p. 425). Compare

Sometimes the witch, by means of a magic bridle, transforms the sleeper into a horse, and then rides the animal until dawn. Next morning the bewitched person finds his toes and fingers covered with dirt, his limbs scratched, and his strength exhausted.²⁰⁶ A story from southeastern Virginia tells of a man who, when he was about to be ridden by a witch, seized the bridle and forced it into the hag's mouth. The woman began to shift her shape rapidly in order to terrify her victim into relaxing his hold, but in the end was severely beaten. In Lincoln County, North Carolina, the witch's mount, instead of being a transformed human being, is an ordinary horse. The following day the animal is restive and fatigued, and the tangles in its mane, known as "witch-stirrups," are evidence of the use to which it has been put.²⁰⁷

the Maryland story, *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv, p. 39. Cats sometimes suck the breath of sleeping children (See above, p. 234).

²⁰⁶ See the testimony of the Rev. Brantley York, *Autobiography*, p. 8. For more recent evidence, see *J. A. F.-L.*, xv (1902), 273 (Va.); II, pp. 32 (Pa.), 292 (N. H.); xxiv, 320 (Knott Co., Ky.). Professor E. C. Perrow, who was born in Virginia, writes that his grandfather, Joseph Graham, "knew a man who was ridden at night by witches. They bridled him and rode him to dances. They tied him outside where he could see the lights and hear the fiddles. He showed briars in his hand next morning from the briar patches through which he had been ridden." Cf. Notestein, *op. cit.*, 97 f. In a story from Lehigh Co., Pa., a witch transforms certain girls into snakes (*J. A. F.-L.*, II, 33). The following story was told in 1915 to Mr. Thomas Smith by Mrs. Peggy Perry, seventy-six years of age. A woman living in the "Breshy" district of North Carolina "got somethin' the matter with 'er, so's she went 'round bawlin' jist like a cow, and her little gal went 'round after her a-bawlin' jist like a calf. Ever'body said they wuz bewitched and I've heerd who they said bewitched 'em, but I'd ruther not tell who it wuz, fer, you see, there's some o' his folks a-livin' 'round not fur off and they'd like as not git mad at me fer tellin' sich things. Well, the little gal finally died and they buried her in the yard right back o' the house, and some o' the neighbors, seein' as the pore woman didn't git any better—she wouldn't talk, but kep' bawlin' all the time like a cow—they neighbors went and sent fer old Keller, who wuz a witch-doctor. She got better right straight after old Keller come to see her. I don't know how he done, but he shore on-witched her." For a similar story from Kentucky, see Karl Knortz, *Zur amerikanischen Volkskunde*, Tübingen, 1905, p. 36.

²⁰⁷ For examples, see *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 114 (Alleghany Mountains—white); IV, 324 (Pa.); XVII, 247 (S. C.—negro). Cf. F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 82. In County Clare, Ireland, fairies ride the farm-horses at night (*Folk-Lore*, XXII [1911], 449). During the Middle Ages fairies often rode on horseback. Cf. *Mod. Phil.*, XII (1915), 631, n. 2.

The witch's goal on her midnight rides is often an assembly like the one at which Tam O'Shanter assisted.²⁰⁸ Among the mountain whites of the Alleghanies witches are powerless on Friday, but on that day can hear everything their enemies say against them.²⁰⁹

Of the numerous devices for keeping witches out of a house, many may be classified under a heading known to students of folk-lore as the "Impossible Task." In ancient Greek, Roman, and Oriental tradition malignant spirits who happened to fall under the power of mortals, were sometimes required to weave ropes of sand or perform similar feats.²¹⁰ Today the North Carolina mountaineer, when bedeviled by witches, hangs a sifter over the keyhole,²¹¹ for he knows that the hag, before entering, will have to count all the meshes in the sifter, a computation she

²⁰⁸ *J. A. F.-L.*, XIII (1900), 210 (Scott Co., Tenn.); XIV, 39 (Md.-white). In former times witch meetings, or sabbaths, were accompanied by revolting and indecent rites (Cf. Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 32 f.), and modern voodoo worshippers are charged with similar practices.

²⁰⁹ *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 11. In the sixteenth century it was believed that witches confess more readily on Friday (Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 24). The sect of mediæval heretics known as the Eutychians were said to hold their orgies on Good Friday night (Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 34). Though the bad reputation of Friday was doubtless enhanced by the tradition that Christ was crucified and that Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit on that day, the superstition of unlucky days extends far back into pagan times. See R. M. Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horse-Shoe*, p. 258 ff. Cf. Eliphas Lévi, *The History of Magic*, trans., A. E. Waite, London, 1913, p. 159; Chambers, *Book of Days*, I (1886), 42. Friday is still regarded as unlucky. "Friday is always either the fairest or the foulest day of the week" (Cumberland Mountains; E. B. Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 107). It is bad luck to plant seeds on "Rotten" Saturday—the Saturday between Good Friday and Easter Sunday; seeds sowed on that day will rot in the ground. (Formerly current in parts of Lincoln County: Mr. Coon).

²¹⁰ Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, XII (1899), 69 f.; XVII, 126.

²¹¹ *Collectanea of the N. C. F.-L., Soc.* For early charms and precautions against nightmare, see Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 69 f. The writer has heard that in southeastern Virginia turning the key sidewise in the keyhole will prevent the witch from entering and that a flax-hackle placed on the breast of the sleeper with the teeth up will injure her when she tries to mount, and so keep her from riding. (Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, XXXII [1909], 252). It would be interesting to know whether North Carolina witches, like the fairies of European folk-lore, can be placated by placing pails of water (or milk) in the kitchen at night, as is the case in Maryland (Cf. F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 15).

will be unable to complete before daylight arrives and forces her to leave.²¹² In many sections, including the highlands of the South, a broom laid across the doorway is sufficient protection,²¹³ the true explanation of its value being that offered in Maryland: the witch cannot enter until she has counted all the straws of which the broom is made.²¹⁴ In Louisiana any one who refuses to step over a broom is a witch.²¹⁵ The mountain people of western North Carolina say that it is bad luck to step over a broom.²¹⁶ Another prescription recommends the sprinkling of mustard or other small seed in the four corners of the house; the hag, like the prince in the fairy tale, must pick up the seed one by one before she can be free.²¹⁷ The following negro version comes from Guilford County, North Carolina. "Ol' witch goin' from house to house. Too much work to do in one place. People throwed mustard-seed in her way. Had to pick up one by one befo' she lef'. 'Here I am, where shall I hide myself?' Says, 'I'll never get in a place like that again. Bes' way to carry gol' an' silver with me. I've done foun' out they can't do anything with the mustard-seed while I carry the gol' an' silver.' After she got her gol' an' silver, she did go all right. Didn't have to pick up the seed."²¹⁸

Another group of charms against witchcraft apparently depends ultimately upon the awe with which primitive man regarded the newly discovered metal iron. Other-world beings have always

²¹² In Alabama the sifter is placed under the doorstep; in Chestertown, Md., over the door (Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, p. 16). Cf. *So. Workman*, xli (1912), 246. In those Maryland prescriptions which direct that a fork be stuck through the sifter and that both be placed on the chest at night with the tines of the fork upwards, the function of the sifter has apparently been forgotten. Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, v (1892), 110 f.; xii, 145. According to a negro tradition from Baltimore, the impossibility of the computation is due to the fact that a witch cannot count above five (*J. A. F.-L.*, xi, 76).

²¹³ *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 113 f. Cf. vol. iv, 126 (Ja.); xiv, 40 (Md.-white).

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xi (1898), 9.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, xviii (1905), 230. Some Southern mountaineers say that any one who steps over a broom lying in a doorway is a witch. Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, xii (1899), 132.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, xx (1907), 245.

²¹⁷ *So Workman*, xli, 246.

²¹⁸ *J. A. F.-L.*, xxx (1917), 188.

shrunk from contact with iron. In a large number of folk-tales the beautiful fairy princess married to a mortal deserts her lover when he touches her, even accidentally, with a piece of metal, and the modern witch cannot enter a house on or above the door of which a horseshoe is nailed.²¹⁹ In the mountains of North Carolina it is lucky to find a horseshoe or a pin,²²⁰ especially if the opening of the horseshoe or the point of the pin is directed toward the finder. Indeed, if you find a horseshoe and don't pick it up, you are liable to encounter misfortune.²²¹ The North Carolina housewife whose butter will not come may heat a horseshoe and apply it to the bottom of the churn, or, if the witches are particularly troublesome, she may even have to put the metal in the churn. If a red hot poker is inserted in the receptacle containing bewitched butter or soft soap, the witch is burned and the spell broken.²²² In Alabama whoever sleeps with a fork under his pillow need not fear being "ridden" at night.²²³ Some twenty years ago in Georgia iron nails placed in a black bottle and buried under the door-step would keep off witches.²²⁴

Next to iron, the most popular metal now in use as a preventive against witchcraft is silver. Rev. Brantley York reports that in his youth witches in Randolph County, North Carolina, could be killed with a silver bullet. The Southern mountaineers of today believe that if an ox, fatally wounded with a hair-ball, is shot with a silver bullet, the witch will be injured.²²⁵ In western Maryland shooting the hag's picture with a bullet made from a silver coin

²¹⁹ *J. A. F.-L.*, XII (1899), 76 (Baltimore-negro). The value of the horseshoe is here explained on the same principle as that of the sifter; the witch, before entering, must travel over the path the horseshoe has taken. For other instances of the use of the horseshoe to prevent witchcraft, see *J. A. F.-L.*, IV, 255 (N. H.), 323 (Pa.); V, 182 (Pa.). On the horseshoe in folk-lore, see *J. A. F.-L.*, IX, 288 ff.; R. M. Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horse-Shoe*, Boston and New York, 1898, p. 1 ff.; Karl Knortz, *Amerikanischer Aberglaube der Gegenwart*, p. 31 ff.

²²⁰ *J. A. F.-L.*, XX (1907), 246.

²²¹ Collectanea of the N. C. F.-L. Soc. It is also bad luck to give away a pin in North Carolina.

²²² F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, 21; *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894) pp. 66 f., 115 (Alleghany Mountains).

²²³ F. D. Bergen, *op. cit.*, 16; *J. A. F.-L.*, XII (1899), 261 (Ga.).

²²⁴ *J. A. F.-L.*, V (1892), 230.

²²⁵ *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 114.

is an effective means of retaliation.²²⁶ In Georgia ghosts are killed with silver bullets, and the use of silver nails and screws in making a coffin will prevent the corpse from haunting the scenes of its earthly life.²²⁷ Silver money carried in the shoe or worn on a string around the neck is a well-known charm against witch spells,²²⁸ and even the wearing of a silver ring is alleged to have a certain protective value.²²⁹ The following story, told by a hunter in Edgecombe County, North Carolina, illustrates the necessity of using silver bullets in shooting uncanny creatures.

Immediately after the Civil War there was a prevailing belief in Edgecombe County, that the low, boggy, heavily wooded district lying along Henrietta Creek was infested by witches. In spite of its bad reputation, however, the place was a famous hunting ground. One evening about sundown a hunter who had sat down to rest under a dead pine in the vicinity of the creek, was surprised to hear in the silence of the forest a mysterious tapping. Looking up he perceived near the top of the tree "what appeared to be a common woodpecker storing away food for the long, cold winter." After shooting at the bird without effect until his ammunition was exhausted, he cut a dime into small pieces, with which he loaded his gun and fired again. With a loud shriek the bird fell lifeless to the ground. "Ever since this occurrence," adds the narrator, "the people of Henrietta neighborhood believe that the only way to kill witches is to shoot them with silver."

Another story, from Lincoln County, is told by Mr. Coon. A witch man once assumed the shape of a turkey gobbler, and perched himself on the limb of the high tree beside the path of a famous hunter. Not recognizing the witch under this form of disguise, the man shot twenty-nine rounds at the bird. "Every time his gun would fire, the witch turkey would stand erect on his perch, shake himself, and sit down again. Disgusted with his bad marksmanship, the woodsman went his way. Not far from the scene of his discomfiture the hunter met a friend and related to him his

²²⁶ *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 42. Cf. vol. iv, pp. 126, 324 (Pa.); F. D. Bergen, *op. cit.*, 15 (Ala.).

²²⁷ *J. A. F.-L.*, vii (1894), 305.

²²⁸ *J. A. F.-L.*, xiv (1901), 179; xxiv, 320 (Knott Co., Ky.); ix, 226; F. D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore*, 15. Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, xii, 228 f.

²²⁹ *J. A. F.-L.*, ix (1896), 226.

recent experience. His neighbor immediately pronounced the turkey a witch, and declared that it could be brought down only by a silver bullet. The hunter accordingly went home, and, after moulding a silver bullet, returned with his friend to the place where he had seen the witch. On their arrival, however, the bird flew away. Their suspicions were, nevertheless, confirmed by their encountering a few hundred yards off "a man who was famous all over the country as a witch of witches."

The value of silver in dealing with the powers of darkness is illustrated by a clipping from the Winston-Salem *Sentinel* for February 16, 1915, for which the writer is indebted to Mr. G. T. Stephenson:

"Jim Webster, a colored man who lives about six miles west of the city, believes in witches and wizards and hoodoos and all that sort of thing, and for forty years has carried a silver dollar in his mouth night and day, not to make his speech silvery but to keep away the hoodoo.²⁸⁰ He keeps one dollar in his mouth until all the letters and figures are worn off, then he exchanges it for a new dollar. He says he is now wearing his fourth dollar. Jim thinks that as long as he carries that dollar in his mouth, witches and hoodoos have no power over him, so he works, eats and sleeps with it in his jaw. A large number of other colored people thinks (sic) the silver dollar in his mouth gives Jim some kind of hoodooistic powers, and they are rather shy of him." In a letter accompanying the article Mr. Stephenson writes: "I have talked with the negro and seen the dollar, and can vouch for the statements made in the clipping."

No account of the preventives against witchcraft would be even approximately complete without at least a word about salt. Reginald Scot was repeating an old tradition when in 1584 he wrote, "The divell loveth no salt in his meate,"²⁸¹ for salt has always

²⁸⁰ Some conjure-doctors begin the diagnosis of a case of suspected witchcraft by placing a piece of silver in the patient's mouth. If the silver turns black, the patient is suffering from the effects of witchcraft (*J. A. F.-L.*, ix [1896], 224). Cf. Karl Knortz, *Amerikanischer Aberglaube der Gegenwart*, 9. Professor Perrow received the following cure for witch spells from his grandfather: "Take a brand new silver dollar. Trim off shavings from it with a knife. Put these in a cup, pour hot water over them and drink the water."

²⁸¹ *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 435. On the folk-lore of salt, see further

been used with great effect by the Christian church in putting to flight heathen divinities and other beings antagonistic to the people of God. In the sixteenth century judges presiding over witchcraft trials were urged to carry salt about their persons,²³² and today the mountaineers of the South know that salt worn in the shoe prevents "overlooking."²³³ In western Maryland a witch is rendered powerless if salt is sprinkled under her chair,²³⁴ and, as Harris's "Plantation Witch" shows, salt rubbed on a witch's skin after she has shed it, prevents a recurrence of the shape-shifting.²³⁵ Most people know that when salt is spilled, bad luck is sure to result unless a few grains are at once thrown over the left shoulder.²³⁶

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NOTE.—Further contributions will be gratefully received by the writer or by Professor Frank C. Brown, Secretary and Treasurer of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, Durham, North Carolina.

Grimm, *Deut. Mythol.*, II, 876 f.; R. M. Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horse-Shoe*, p. 154 ff.

²³² Scot, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²³³ *J. A. F.-L.*, VII (1894), 114. Cf. F. D. Bergen, *Current Superstitions*, p. 82. In County Wexford, Ireland, peeled potatoes left on the hearth-stone for the fairies must not be salted (Mrs. S. C. Hall, *Sketches of Irish Character*, N. Y., 1845, p. 268). Cf. Sir Walter Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, p. 124 f.

²³⁴ *J. A. F.-L.*, XIV (1901), 40.

²³⁵ Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, V, (1892), 110 f. (Md.); IX, 129 f. (S. C.). In a confused negro story from Guilford County, North Carolina, a thievish witch who shed her skin in order to enter a store is prevented from returning by red pepper. As soon as daylight strikes her, she drops dead (*J. A. F.-L.*, XXX, 187 f.). Professor Perrow heard from his grandfather a story of a witch who used to slip out of her skin at night and go abroad. "Her husband watched her and cured her by putting salt and pepper on her skin while she was away one night." In the seventeenth century rosemary was used in England as a preventive against witchcraft (Thomas Wright, *Narratives*, II, 137). A tradition from southeastern Virginia asserts that the plant was first brought to America by Grace Sherwood, the early eighteenth century witch.

²³⁶ Cf. *J. A. F.-L.*, XX (1907), 245 (N. C.).

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THE BONES OF BEN JONSON

BY JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS

We have good reason to believe that had Shakespeare desired to be buried in Westminster Abbey, the authorities there would gladly have provided for him a place in the Poets' Corner, acting in accordance with the sentiment of contemporary men of letters, thus expressed by William Bass:

Renowned Spenser, lye a thought more nye
To learned Chaucer, and, rare Beaumont, lye
A little nearer Spenser, to make roome
For Shakespeare.

But he seems to have preferred to rest among his relatives and friends in his native Stratford. His body received a conspicuous place of honor in the village church, just within the chancel rail and before the altar. It is true that by virtue of his ownership of a portion of the Stratford tithes he had a legal right to interment here; yet we can hardly doubt that his fellow-townsmen would have given him this distinction anyway, as one of England's greatest poets, and Stratford's most illustrious son. His body was not laid in a vault, but in a wooden coffin placed in the earth; and on a flagstone over the grave was carved an inscription said by tradition to have been written, or selected, by the poet himself:

Good frend, for Iesvs sake forbear
To digg the dvst enloased heare.
Blest be the man that spares thes stones,
And cvrst be he that moves my bones.

The reason for this curious inscription seems not to be generally understood, though several times clearly stated; for example, by

William Hall, a graduate of Oxford, who visited Stratford in 1694 and wrote to his friend, Edward Thwaites, the eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar, a description of the poet's burial-place. After quoting the verses on the flagstone, he observes: "The little learning these verses contain would be a very strong argument of the want of it in the author, did not they carry something in them which stands in need of a comment. There is in this church a place which they call the bone-house, a repository for all bones they dig up, which are so many that they would load a great number of wagons. The poet, being willing to preserve his bones unmoved, lays a curse upon him that moves them; and having to do with clarks and sextons, for the most part a very ignorant sort of people, he descends to the meanest of their capacities."

The charnel-house referred to by Hall stood in the churchyard, and adjoined the chancel on the north, within a few feet of Shakespeare's grave. The frequent interment of new bodies in the church led to the constant removal of the remains of persons formerly buried there, and these remains were dumped in a miscellaneous pile in the bone-house. The custom was not confined to Stratford. Aubrey notes that Sir John Birkenhead, who was buried in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, specifically ordered in his will that his body be interred in the churchyard; "his reason was because, he sayd, they removed the bodies out of the church." And Sir Thomas Browne, in *Hydriotaphia*, bitterly complains, for himself and others, of the "tragicall abomination of being knaved out of our graves." The Stratford bone-house seems to have been more than usually repulsive. A visitor to the town in 1777 writes (Defoe's *Tour*, 1778): "At the side of the chancel is a charnel-house almost filled with human bones, skulls, &c."; and Ireland in 1795 declares that it contained "the largest assemblage of human bones" he had ever seen. We may suspect that Shakespeare was recalling one of the nightmares of his boyhood when in *Romeo and Juliet* he wrote:

Or shut me nightly in a charnel-house,
O'er cover'd quite with dead men's rattling bones,
With reaky shanks, and yellow chapless skulls.

It can hardly be doubted that he had often watched the clownish sextons of the church dig up the bones from their quiet graves, and

hurl them like loggats into the adjacent charnel. His natural revulsion at the idea seems to find expression in *Hamlet*:

Ham. That skull had a tongue in it, and could sing once. How the knave jowls it to the ground as if it were Cain's Jaw-bone! . . . Why does he suffer this rude knave now to knock him about the sconce with a dirty shovel? . . . Dost thou think Alexander looked o' this fashion i' the earth?

Hor. E'en so.

Ham. And smelt so? pah!

Shakespeare well knew that his bones would lie perilously near to the charnel-house; and he knew also that before many years had rolled by, his place would be claimed by some later owner of the village tithes. It was specifically to avoid the "abomination of being knaved out of" his grave that he directed the verses to be cut over his body.

In this effort to provide lasting peace for his bones he was successful. Dowdall, who visited Stratford in 1693, quotes the church clerk, then above eighty years of age, to the effect that "not one" of the sextons, "for fear of the curse abovesaid, dare touch his gravestone," and this even though, as he adds, "his wife and daughters did earnestly desire to be laid in the same tomb with him." Shakespeare's daughter, Susanna, who was buried near him, suffered the very fate he sought to escape: in 1701 her bones were removed to the charnel-house, and her grave given over to a certain inconspicuous person named Watts, who happened then to be a part-owner of the Stratford tithes. But to this day the bones of the poet have been unmolested. In 1796, workmen who were employed to construct a vault next to his grave testified to the fact that the earth above his body had never been disturbed. They, indeed, in the course of their labors, accidentally dug into one side of his tomb, and opened up a small hole. Peering in, they saw nothing but a hollow space where the coffin had been; and without any further effort to pry into the secrets of the grave, they hastily walled up that side of the vault with brick.

Probably the narrowest escape the dead poet suffered was in the early part of the nineteenth century, when, says Halliwell-Phillipps, "a phalanx of trouble-tombs, lanterns and spades in hand," assembled in the chancel in the dead of night, intent on disobeying the solemn injunction that the bones of Shakespeare were not to be

disturbed. But the supplicating lines prevailed. There were some amongst the number who, at the last moment, refused to incur the warning condemnation, and so the design was happily abandoned." The church is now carefully locked and guarded, so that a recurrence of this sort of peril is no longer to be feared.

Since the body was laid not in a vault but in the ground it is probable that long ago all that was earthly of the immortal bard has been peacefully compounded with clay. And there, in all likelihood, his sacred dust will lie undisturbed until the graves yawn and yield their dead up to the last judgment. Such, we may suppose, was the poet's expressed wish.

With "rare Ben Jonson" the case is altered, for his bones have more than once been disturbed, and his skull, after being subjected to the curious scrutiny of various persons, rests to-day apart from the remainder of the skeleton.

Though his public career was identified with London, in private life he was associated with the village of Westminster, just as Shakespeare was with Stratford. He was born in Westminster, he received his early education in the Westminster School, and he spent his last years in a small house wedged in between the Abbey and the Church of St. Margaret, "the house," writes Aubrey, "under which you goe out of the churchyard into the old palace." Here, too, he died, on August 6, 1637; and three days later he was laid to rest in the great Abbey, not in the Poets' Corner, but in the north aisle of the nave. Aubrey describes his place of interment in the following terms: "He lies buried in the north aisle, in the path of square stone (the rest is lozenge), opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus de Ros, with this inscription only on him, in a pavement-square, of blew marble, about 14 inches square,

O RARE BENN IOHNSON

which was donne at the chardge of Jack Young (afterwards knighted), who walking there when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen pence to cutt it."

This "pavement-square of blew marble" was removed at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the floor of the Abbey was repaved; and in its place was substituted a triangular stone, bearing the same inscription. The original stone, discovered in the office of the clerk of the works about 1846, was "let into the wall a few yards to the north of the grave, underneath the monument

of Colonel James Bringfield," where it may still be seen by the curious.

In connection with this old square stone, an interesting tradition was long handed down in the Abbey. The story is thus recorded in Cunningham's *Handbook of London*: "One day, being rallied by the Dean of Westminster about being buried in the Poets' Corner, the poet is said to have replied (we tell the story as current in the Abbey): 'I am too poor for that, and no one will lay out funeral charges upon me. No, sir, 6 feet long by 2 feet wide is too much for me: 2 feet by 2 feet will do for all I want.' 'You shall have it,' said the Dean, and thus the conversation ended." According to another version of the story, the colloquy took place with King Charles the First. In both cases the anecdote closes with the statement that in accordance with this agreement Jonson was buried "in an erect posture."

So far as I am aware, the grave of Jonson was not disturbed until the nineteenth century. In 1823, however, Lady Wilson, the wife of General Sir Robert Wilson, the distinguished soldier and Governor of Gibraltar, was interred in Westminster in a spot adjacent to the poet's place of burial; and while digging the grave, the sextons exposed the crumbling remains of "rare Ben." A vivid description of these remains is to be found in a letter by "J. C. B." published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1823. So interesting is this forgotten letter in all its details, and so important for a history of Jonson's bones, that I print it in full.

Aug. 29.

Mr. Urban,

The absence of a friend from home, whom I was desirous of seeing, afforded me a leisure hour this morning at Westminster, which I thought I could not better employ than in visiting the interior of the sublime Abbey Church, a venerable magnificent building, in which I have passed many an hour in contemplating the architecture of its lofty aisles, and in viewing the tombs which adorn, as well as those which disfigure, their design and beauty. I had scarcely entered the usual door of admittance in Poets' Corner, when I was met by an old and particular friend, a member of the Church, with whom I had not long paced the external aisles of the choir, when the hurried step of workmen, and the unusual activity of the Vergers, announced the speedy commencement of some ceremonious spectacle, which we soon ascertained to be the Funeral of Lady Wilson, whose grave was opened in the North aisle of the nave opposite the third arch from the West end.

But what followed this piece of information engaged my interest, and forms the subject of this Letter. It was no less than a brief account of the discovery of the grave of Ben Jonson, against whose narrow cell the foot of the coffin of the above lady now rests, on its Western side. This description was followed by a promise of a sight of the skeleton; and no sooner was the funeral dirge ended, and the Church cleared of the procession, than I passed with rapid step to the spot where have lain in quiet repose from the period of their deposit, namely, 1637, to the present day, the mortal remains of this distinguished Bard.

The spot of his interment is marked by a small stone, inscribed with the following laconic and well-known inscription:

"O rare Ben Jonson!"

which is repeated on his tomb in the Poets' Corner. The eccentricity of the Bard is acknowledged, and perhaps no one particular instance is better known than the agreement he is said to have made with the reigning Dean of Westminster, about the quantity of ground his body was to occupy within the Abbey after his decease. If this anecdote has gained credit, that which stated him to have been buried in an upright posture has been almost universally rejected as ridiculous and improbable; in proof of which I need only refer your readers to the Histories of Westminster Abbey by Malcolm and Brayley; the former says, the story of Jonson having been buried in a piece of ground *eighteen* inches square, arose from the size of the stone, and "from no other reason." The latter follows the same opinion, and calls it "an absurd tradition." But extraordinary and absurd as it may appear, it is nevertheless true that Ben Jonson's body occupied a space not more spacious than eighteen inches. This doubt set at rest forever, I proceed to a description of what I saw of his remains.

I have already mentioned that the foot of the new grave joined the depository of Ben Jonson, and broke into, if it did not entirely destroy, the side of it. The skeleton then appeared, and was in tolerable preservation; the skull was loose, and on the removal of the earth, the *tibia* or large bone of both of the lower legs, several ribs, and one piece of the spine, separated from their joints.

Every care was taken to prevent the workmen from breaking the skeleton more than was possibly avoidable, or of scattering the fragments which their spades accidentally removed; and so carefully were the injunctions obeyed, although the diggers were ignorant that they had exposed the crumbling remains of an eminent man, that most of the ribs, still clinging to the spine, protruded into the new grave, and were not broken off.

It is remarkable that the back is turned towards the East, and more remarkable that the corpse was buried with his head downwards, the feet being only a few inches below the pavement of the Church.

Ben Jonson was of small stature, and but for a rude interruption, I should have ascertained the exact depth of the cell which the body occupied, and some other particulars which it would have been curious and interesting to have preserved. There were a few small fragments of

wood, to show that the body had been enclosed in a coffin or box, but the proof that it was constructed of no substantial materials, and that it has long been completely destroyed, appears in the condition of the skeleton, the body of which was filled with a solid mass of earth, and the cavity where the head had reposed remained a perfect mould of its form.

Under the strongest feelings of reverence, and unawed by the curse denounced by Shakespeare, against the violators of his tomb in Stratford Church, I examined the skull and other detached bones, which were firm and perfect, and of the usual dark brown color. When first exposed, the skull was not entirely deprived of hair, but repeated disinterments in the space of a few hours, or, what is equally probable, the fingers of the curious, had not left a single thread of this natural covering for me to see.

All the bones were again buried with the most scrupulous care, the new grave was speedily closed up, and the remains of the learned Dramatist sheltered, perhaps forever, from further disturbance, or the gaze of the curious.

Yours, &c.

J. C. B.

There is, so far as I can discover, no reason to doubt the accuracy of this letter. Its general correctness is verified by subsequent examinations of the grave; while the observation, "Ben Jonson was of small stature," records a fact that could then hardly have been known to the writer except through an examination of the actual remains. That he was really "of small stature" is revealed by certain allusions in the *War of the Theatres*. Thus Thomas Dekker, in heaping personal abuse on Jonson in the comedy of *Satiromastix*, scornfully calls him a "pigmy," and makes a Welshman exclaim: "He does conspire to be more hye and tall as God a mightie made him." And in his *Poetaster*, Jonson applies to himself the adjective "little." In view of these allusions it is to be regretted that a "rude interruption" prevented our learning the "exact" height of Jonson's body.

Twenty-six years later Sir Robert Wilson died, and was buried beside his wife. At this time the geologist, William Buckland, was Dean of Westminster. When he learned that the grave was to be dug next to that of Ben Jonson, he sent his son, Francis, to watch the operation, and bring to him the skull of the poet for examination. Francis was twenty-three years old, had graduated from Oxford, and was now in his second year as a student of surgery at St. George's Hospital. A man of unusual intelligence, he was doubtless already displaying the intellectual curiosity and shrewdness of observation which later made him one of England's most

notable scientists. His straightforward narrative of how he took the skull of Jonson to the Dean of the Abbey, I quote from his *Curiosities of Natural History* (Fourth Series, p. 238) :

In the year 1840, Sir Robert Wilson, Knight, was interred in the Abbey, and the place chosen for the grave was close to a triangular stone, let into the pavement in the north aisle, on which these words were inscribed :

O RARE BEN JONSON

My father, who was then Dean, told me that Ben Jonson had, at his own request, been buried, not in the usual position, but that the coffin had been placed upright in the earth, with the feet downward.

I have forgotten the exact particulars the Dean then told me, but I have since been down to the Abbey, and find from "Mentor" (who has acted as guardian of Dean's Yard for very many years), that a local tradition exists that Ben Jonson asked the King (King Charles the First) to grant him a favour.

"What is it?" said the king.

"Give me," said Ben Jonson, "eighteen inches square of ground."

"Certainly," said the king; "but where will you have it?"

"In Westminster Abbey," replied Ben Jonson.

"Your request is granted," said the king.

Ben Jonson knew that if he had asked direct for what he really wanted he would probably have been refused; he therefore adopted the above ingenious plan of obtaining a favourable answer.

The above is (as I have said before) the local tradition. I should feel much obliged if any reader of this could tell me if it is recorded in any book; I myself have searched in vain.

When, therefore, Sir Robert Wilson was buried close to the triangular stone which marked the grave of Jonson, my father instructed me to go into the Abbey and look after the grave-diggers, in order to ascertain what I could about the above-mentioned tradition.

After a time, the men found the coffin very much decayed, which, from the appearance of the remains, must have originally been placed in the upright position. The skull found among these remains, Spice the grave-digger gave me as that of Ben Jonson, and I took it at once into the Dean's study. We examined it together, and then going into the Abbey, carefully returned it to the earth; retaining, however, a few fragments of the coffin wood.

It will be observed that Buckland does not say anything that may be taken as refuting the statement made by "J. C. B." in 1823, that the body had been buried head downward; all that he could observe was that the coffin "from the appearance of the remains, must have originally been placed in the upright position." The skull was not at the top of the grave, just under the pavement,

but was found "among" the remains, the skeleton, it seems, having for the most part collapsed since it was viewed by "J. C. B." more than a quarter of a century earlier. One might be inclined to suspect that Jonson was originally buried in the standing position with his face to the east, and that in the course of time the head, as the heaviest part of the body, had sunk to the bottom of the grave, completely turning over in the descent, and thus to a casual observer giving the impression that the body had been buried head downward with the face to the west. But "J. C. B." was not a mere "casual observer," and the details cited by him are too clear to admit of this otherwise plausible suggestion.

Once again the tomb of Jonson was destined to be opened, and his learned skull subjected to the "battery" of a sexton's spade.

Dean Buckland died in 1856. In the meanwhile his son, Francis, had made an enviable reputation for himself in the medical sciences. In 1859 he attracted national attention by rescuing from oblivion the remains of John Hunter, the eminent "founder of modern surgery," and reintering them, with proper honors, in Westminster Abbey. As luck would have it, the spot chosen by the authorities for Hunter's grave was next to that of Ben Jonson; and thus Buckland once more was provided with an opportunity of examining the poet's bones.

The reinterment of Hunter was a notable occasion, and hundreds of distinguished scientists were present. An account of the ceremony, printed in the *London Times*, March 29, 1859, contains the following sentence, with a parenthetic clause pertinent to our inquiry: "The coffin, which had been deposited in the Abbey on Saturday evening, was reinterred yesterday afternoon on the north side of the nave, between Wilkie and Ben Jonson (the skull of the latter was freely handed about)."

Alas, poor Yorick!—if this were true. Buckland, however, tells an altogether different story about the skull. I quote again from his *Curiosities of Natural History*:

John Hunter's grave, I observed, was ordered to be dug somewhere near the spot where we had deposited the skull some years [ten years] before, so I gave minute instructions to the grave-digger (the same man, Spice, that had found it before, that if he should by chance turn up Ben Jonson's skull again from the earth, he should take great care of it, and give it into my charge. In the course of his work he *did* find this skull again, and when I went down early in the morning of the day of the reinterment

of John Hunter, to examine the grave, the old man told me he had found Ben Jonson's skull. He gave it me, and I knew the skull again quite well.

A thought came across me, thus: To-morrow there will be a crowd of folks here, and it is more than likely that, seeing the inscription on Ben Jonson's triangular head-stone, they will look out for, and possibly carry off, the poor man's skull, if they can find it; so I at once dug a hole in the earth which had been dug out of the grave, and piled up under the ledge of the monument of Colonel James Bringfield close by; in this earth I hid Ben Jonson's skull safely.

When the ceremony of the reinterment of John Hunter was completed, I went out with the rest of the people; but as soon as the Abbey was clear, and the men began to fill up the grave, I went back again by a private door, and with my own hands placed Ben Jonson's skull on the top of John Hunter's coffin, and waited till the grave was nearly filled up, and there could be no possibility of removing the skull.

We are glad to know that Jonson's skull was not "freely handed about" to satisfy the vulgar curiosity of a miscellaneous crowd; and, of course, we may be grateful to Buckland for his watchful care in twice preserving the sacred relic from the danger of theft.

Yet six years later, on November 11, 1865, the following disconcerting statement, from an apparently trustworthy source, appeared in the *Times*, under the caption "The Skull of Ben Jonson":

In the course of a paper read this week by Dr. Kelburne King, president of the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society, before the members of that Society, on "The Recent Visit of the British Association to Birmingham," the Doctor, in speaking of a visit which he and Dr. Richardson, of London, had made to Shakespeare's birthplace, at Stratford-on-Avon, narrated the following curious incident: He said that a blind gentleman, who thought no one but the guide was present, mentioned that a friend of his had a relic which would be a valuable addition to the Shakespearean Museum at that place—the skull of Ben Jonson. When this friend attended the funeral of Dr. [Hunter], at Westminster Abbey, he perceived that the next grave, that of Ben Jonson, had been opened, and he could see the skeleton of the body in the coffin. He could not resist the opportunity of putting in his hand and extracting the skull, which he placed under his cloak and carried off. From a remark which the blind gentleman dropped, Dr. Richardson thought he could identify the offender, and he asked if the person's initials did not consist of certain letters. The blind gentleman was not a little startled at finding that his secret was out; he admitted the fact, but prayed that no advantage might be taken of the discovery. This was promised; but, as Dr. Richardson is an ardent admirer of the Avonian bard, he will bring the necessary pressure to bear on the possessor of the skull, so that it shall be placed in a more worthy repository than the cabinet of an obscure individual.

This newspaper article was brought to the attention of Dr. Stanley, then Dean of Westminster, who promptly sent for Buckland, and requested information about the matter. Buckland thereupon supplied the Dean with the facts as he knew them, and then, in an effort to substantiate his statements, he sought out those persons who were connected with the Abbey in his father's time. The startling result of his inquiry he records in his *Curiosities of Natural History* as follows:

Wishing to confirm my story, I inquired for Spice, the grave-digger, but found that he had been dead some time. "Mentor" told me that one Ovens was still alive, and that Ovens assisted Spice to dig the graves for both Sir R. Wilson and John Hunter. We therefore went down to see Ovens, whom I found so old that he could tell me nothing at all; in fact, the poor old man's memory was nearly gone.

I then asked for Mr. Ryde, who was clerk of the works in my father's time; and having ascertained that he had retired into private life, at once called upon him.

And now I have another story to tell about this matter. Mr. Ryde informed me candidly, and at once, that he was quite certain that *I* had never had the right skull at all, but that *he* took charge of it.

When Sir Robert Wilson was buried, in 1849, he (Ryde), in his official capacity, superintended Spice and the other grave-digger in their operations. The earth in which the grave was made was loose sand; this sand he expected had been carted into the Abbey, as it was above the natural soil of the place. As the grave was being dug, this loose sand "rippled in like a quicksand"; and in the course of the operations, Ryde himself saw the two leg-bones of Jonson fixed bolt upright in the sand, as though the body had been buried in the upright position, and the skull came rolling down among the sand, from a position above the leg-bones, to the bottom of the newly-made grave. Ryde picked up the skull and carried it to the clerk of the works' office, in the cloisters, and there locked it up till the newly-made grave was nearly filled; he then brought it back again into the Abbey, and buried it about twelve or fifteen inches under the triangular stone on which the words "O Rare Ben Jonson" are inscribed. He remarked that there was hair still on the skull, and it was of a red colour.

In 1859, when the grave was made for John Hunter, Ryde was still clerk of the works, and John Hunter was to be buried close by the side of the grave of Sir Robert Wilson. It was likely that Ben Jonson's skull would again be found. Ryde therefore kept a look out for, and found the skull under the triangular stone where he had placed it. The skull had still traces of red hair upon it. Again, for the second time, he took charge of it, and when Hunter's funeral was over, he again buried it some twelve or eighteen inches under the triangular stone, and here he says it is to be found at this moment, never, I trust, to be again disturbed. Three or four skulls (Ryde told me) were found in digging Hunter's grave, but they

were at some distance to the westward of Rare Ben Jonson's stone. All three skulls he replaced again in the graves; but both he and Spice remarked that one was missing.

This, then, was the skull in the possession of the blind gentleman's friend, as mentioned in the *Times* of Nov. 11. It must have been taken out of the Abbey at the time of Hunter's funeral. Anyhow, it is quite positive and certain that the skull in question is *not* that of "Rare Ben Jonson"; for two persons distinctly state that they took charge of it, and returned it to the earth, viz., first, Mr. Ryde, the clerk of the works, and, secondly, myself.

We may readily agree with Buckland that the stolen skull was not that of the great dramatist. But who actually took into his safe-keeping the genuine skull?

There seems to be a lie abroad somewhere, for there is no reason why the eminent Dean of the Cathedral, his son Francis, a trained man of science, Ryde, the clerk of the works, and Spice, the honest grave-digger, should work at cross-purposes. They could not have been so deeply interested in discovering and safeguarding the genuine skull—and that on two separate occasions—without becoming aware of each other's effort; and having become aware of this, there was no reason why they should not heartily co-operate in so pious and laudable an undertaking. The Dean was vested with full authority in the matter. Spice seems to have been a simple, honest fellow, on friendly and intimate terms with Buckland, and it is hard to believe that he would be guilty of twice practicing such a mean deception on him. Buckland's absolute veracity cannot be questioned. On several counts, however, we have reason to suspect the glib story of the aged clerk of the works. For our purposes, a discussion of a single point will be sufficient.

Buckland was led to credit the story told by Ryde, disconcerting though it was, for one reason only, namely that Jonson had red hair. With an easy tolerance, hard to understand in a careful man of science, he writes:

I candidly confess that, in my opinion, the skull that the clerk of the works took under his charge on both occasions, as above stated, was really the skull of Ben Jonson, and this on account of the red hair which he observed upon it. Thanks to our excellent library of the Athenæum Club, I have been enabled to get curious particulars relative to the personal appearance of Ben Jonson. In a volume, entitled "Letters written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, and Lives of Eminent Men, by John Aubrey, Esq. The whole now just published from the originals in the Bodleian Library and Ashmolean Museum.

Longman, 1813"—I find evidence quite sufficient for any medical man to come to the conclusion that Ben Jonson's hair was in all probability of a red colour, though the fact is not stated in so many words.

All that Aubrey says, indeed, is: "He was (or rather had been) of a clear and faire skin." This is far from saying that Jonson had red hair. As every student of Jonson will immediately discern, Aubrey is referring to the well-known fact that Jonson's skin was disfigured by a scorbutic affection. Dekker, in the *Satiromastix*, has much to say about this: "Your face full of pockey-holes and pimples with your fiery inventions"; "saffron-cheeks, sun-burnt gipsie"; "ungodly face, like a rotten russet apple when 'tis bruised"; "parboyled face"; "copper-face"; etc. And Jonson himself good-naturedly refers to his "rocky-face."

Moreover, we know beyond peradventure that Jonson's hair was black. It is so represented in his oil portraits. In his *Poetaster*, he ridicules Marston's red hair, and exclaims: "If you can change your haire, I pray, doe." Best of all, we have Jonson's own statement to the effect that his hair was dark. At the time of his death in 1637, however, it may have been more nearly white, for in a poem which he sent to Drummond, of Hawthornden, in 1619 (Drummond labels it "a picture of himselfe," and Jonson published it with the title "My Picture, Left in Scotland"), he sadly refers to his "hundred of gray haire."

Thus the very bit of evidence that led Buckland to doubt the true avouch of his own eyes, serves to convict Ryde of what we may charitably call the vainglorious boast of an old man.

The skull of "rare Ben Jonson," which Jove so crammed with brains, is now, in all likelihood, safely reposing on the velvet-covered top of the leaden coffin of the famous surgeon, John Hunter. Could the poet now return in the flesh, and take up again his once dreaded pen, he might,

Prepar'd before with canary wine,

indite a few biting epigrams on Spice and Ovens for knocking his mazzard with their dirty spades, on the "blind gentleman of Stratford" who so naïvely sought to market a spurious relic, and, above all, on Ryde for attempting to foist upon him a poll of red hair. In the absence of such verses, I may quote the simple epitaph which he penned for Charles Cavendish:

The Bones of Ben Jonson

Sons, seek not me among these polished stones;
These only hide part of my flesh and bones,
Which, did they e'er so neat and proudly dwell,
Will all turn dust, and may not make me swell.
Let such as justly have outlived all praise
Trust in the tombs their careful friends do raise;
I made my Life my monument, and yours,
Than which there's no material more endures,
Nor yet inscription like it writ but that . . .
It will be matter loud enough to tell,
Not when I died, but how I Lived.—*Farewell.*

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THE POLITICAL SATIRES OF CHARLES CHURCHILL

BY JOSEPH M. BEATTY, JR.

The Anglophobe school histories of a generation or two ago were all too prone to ignore the liberalistic tendencies in England that came to fruition in the American Revolution. They neglected to mention the English opponents of George III; they minimized the activities of American loyalists: according to their accounts, all Americans were revolutionists, all Britons were tyrants. With the less prejudiced study of historical movements, however, has come a careful sifting of the evidence until historians find in 1763 an unsuccessful attempt in England to uphold ideals that became a few years later the foundation stones of the new nation across the sea.

In England, much of the rancour of the opposition party was vented upon the Prime Minister, the Scotch Earl of Bute. The Earl had been one of the chief advisers of the king after the death of his father, the Prince of Wales, and had helped the Princess Dowager to instil into her son's mind the doctrine that a king must rule. Bolingbroke's treatise, *On the Idea of a Patriot King*, and probably Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*—then in manuscript—served as text-books on royal prerogative.

Had Bute been content to let his pupil gain his political theories entirely from these works, all might have been well, but he added to them his own advice, which exaggerated the importance of royal privileges. It was, indeed, not difficult to exaggerate these privileges, for at that time the power of the King of England was at low tide. George I and George II, both foreign-born, were dominated by the Whigs, who had been in power since 1714. The first two Georges had been largely dependent upon this party for advice in the administration of affairs; consequently, great power fell into the hands of a small group of Whig families. During the ministry of Robert Walpole, which extended from 1720 until 1742, the party was split up into various groups attached to the most powerful leaders. The Tories, who were largely identified with the Jacobites, were almost neglected. The suppression of the revolt of '45, however, definitely put an end to the ambition of the Stuarts for the

throne, and their followers became loyal subjects who could not with any degree of justice be kept out of their rightful share in the government. George III did not want to rule by party nor did he want one party to be all-powerful. The Tories would not only support him, but would also help him to destroy the power of the Whigs.

The cabinet in 1760 was "an informal committee of the Privy Council,"¹ in which some five or six men formed a sort of dynamic nucleus for the whole. The men who formed this smaller cabinet discussed the more important state affairs and presented them to the sovereign and the whole cabinet. Immediately upon coming to the throne, George offered Bute the office of secretary of state, but the Scotchman saw that this would show his hand before he was ready to play. The new cabinet consisted, therefore, of Pitt and Holderness, secretaries of state; Lord Henley, the keeper of the seal; Lord Grenville, the president of the council; the Duke of Newcastle, the first lord of the treasury; Lord Hardwicke, the ex-chancellor; Lord Anson, first lord of the admiralty; Lord Ligonier, master general of the ordnance; Lord Mansfield, lord chief-justice; the Duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and the Duke of Devonshire, lord chamberlain. One or two other officials might attend to give information about their work. Bute, after a short time, was made groom of the stole, and entered the cabinet. The small inner group gradually expanded to ten or twelve of the most important men in the government.

Of George's first cabinet, by far the most powerful members were the Duke of Newcastle and William Pitt, who coöperated in building up a strong administration. Newcastle had great influence in his party, not only on account of his family, but also on account of his ability as a manager and administrator. He was honest himself, but used corrupt political means to bring about his ends. Pitt was the idol of the people: under his guidance, England was laying the foundations of a great empire in Canada and in India. The king saw that as long as Pitt and Newcastle continued to work together, the Whigs would hold their monopoly of power. He decided, therefore, to try to cause dissension between the two leaders.

¹ Hunt, William, *The History of England*. From the Accession of George III to the Close of Pitt's First Administration. London, N. Y., and Bombay, 1905, p. 7.

Both George and Bute, by slighting Newcastle, made him jealous of Pitt. Bute, although opposed to the great war-minister's views on peace, allied himself with him. The Scotchman wanted to keep England out of continental alliances; Pitt wanted England to be a potent factor in European politics. Bute and many of the Tories maintained that England would be wasting money if she continued to wage a continental war. The king wanted peace at once: it could be secured only by Pitt's overthrow.

In order to obtain a majority in Parliament to carry out his plans, the king spent money lavishly. Formerly, the ministry had named candidates for boroughs belonging to the crown. In 1761 the king named them himself. Newcastle had to submit his list of candidates to Bute for approval. Newly-rich nabobs who had made vast sums in India became candidates for seats in Parliament, and, entirely free from former political connections, were ready to follow the orders of the king. By March, 1761, George III had an obedient Parliament. His next move was to reorganize the ministry.

In January, the Sardinian minister, Count de Viri, one of Bute's friends, had a secret interview with Newcastle in which he suggested that Bute be made a secretary of state. The king consented, and on March 12, in order to make room for Bute, Holderness was dismissed with a pension of £4,000 a year and other rewards. Legge, the chancellor of the exchequer, somewhat recalcitrant in regard to the wishes of Bute and his master, was displaced by Lord Barrington, formerly secretary-at-war, a man ready to do the king's commands. Charles Townshend became secretary-at-war; George Grenville, a follower of Bute, had been admitted to the cabinet about a month before. Such was the personnel of the cabinet when the question of peace reached a crisis.

Pitt, by letters intercepted between Fuentes, the Spanish minister in London, and Grimaldi, the Spanish minister in Paris, saw that Spain was about to enter the war, and that England's only safety lay in attacking Spain at once, before she had completed her naval preparations. Choiseul, the French minister, tried to prolong the negotiations until certain Spanish treasure ships from America should arrive in port.

On September 19, Pitt sent a paper to the council urging that war be declared at once against Spain. The council refused to act upon secret information. On the 21st, Pitt pointed out the

necessity for quick action, but the other members of the council were obdurate. On October 2, the council held a meeting in regard to the orders to be sent to Lord Bristol, British Ambassador at Madrid. Pitt maintained his former attitude toward Spain; the council refused to declare war. Pitt said that "he would not continue without having the direction."² On the 5th of October he resigned from his office.

Upon his resignation, Pitt was given a pension of £3,000 for three lives, and the title of Baroness of Chatham for his wife. At first the people were indignant at his resignation, especially since the announcement in the *Gazette* maliciously coupled his resignation and his pension. When Pitt had explained the reason for his relinquishing the office, his popularity revived, and Bute became an object of obloquy.

The unpopularity of Bute was due, however, not merely to his antagonism to Pitt. His position as royal favorite, even though the favoritism was political rather than personal, exposed him to the hatred of the mob. His name was connected disparagingly with that of the king's mother, and the Jack Boot, which was chosen as his emblem, was frequently placed in juxtaposition with a bonnet or a petticoat.³ Shortly after Pitt's resignation, both Pitt and Bute attended the Lord Mayor's feast. Pitt was loudly cheered by the populace, but Bute had to be rescued by the constables when his coach, guarded by hired bruisers, was attacked by a mob that shouted, "'Damn all Scotch rogues!' 'No Bute!' 'No Newcastle salmon!'"⁴

To the Londoner of the time, the Scotch were known as proud but impoverished place-hunters who were preferred by those in authority. Buckingham palace was nicknamed Holyrood on account of the many Scotchmen who frequented it. The Scotch were usually capable, yet every appointment of Scotchmen to official positions was to the English a fresh cause of suspicion and jealousy. The national hatred that had been fostered at Bannockburn, at Flodden Field, and in innumerable border forays, had been aroused anew by the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. By 1760, however, all

² Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

³ Lecky, W. E. H., *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1878-90, in 8 volumes, vol. III, pp. 49-50.

⁴ Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

fear of Jacobite revolts had passed. In 1762, a writer in *The London Magazine*, probably the editor, remarks, "the jacobite interest at this day is less an object of terror, than of contempt."⁵ Bute's followers came to London in great numbers. The periodicals of the time bristle with allusions to Scotland and its people. One writer, calling himself a "South Briton," says the change in feeling toward the Scotch from friendship to distrust is due to the fact that they want to command rather than to serve England. "All the evils which have happened," he says, "or may happen to this nation; all the civil dissensions [sic], heart-burnings, feuds, and animosities, which now divide this ill-fated country owe their first rise to Scottish influence, and take their date from that hour in which a Scottish nobleman accepted of the first civil post under the king; and owe also their continuance to that influence, which it is suspected still remains."⁶ This outburst naturally provoked a "Briton" to reply, saying that Bute was not entirely to blame, that the French were trying to make the Scotch even more hostile than they really were. He held that it was for errors of administration that Bute was strictly accountable, and not for an accident of birth.⁷ This lack of success was not due to his race, nor was his unpopularity, but his failures tended to make still more hateful to Englishmen, a nation toward which they had an antipathy inherited from many generations.

During the whole controversy over the peace, the writers employed by the government and by the opposition party carried on the quarrel with great bitterness. As early as June 20, 1762, Horace Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann: "The new administration begins tempestuously. My Father was not more abused after twenty years than Lord Bute is in twenty days. Weekly papers swarm, and like other swarms of insects, sting. The cry you may be sure is on his Scot-hood."⁸ The chief of these papers were *The Monitor*, *The Auditor*, *The Briton*, and *The North Briton*. Around *The North Briton*, its owner, John Wilkes, and his co-editor, Charles Churchill, was waged one of the fiercest battles in the political warfare of the period.

⁵ *The London Magazine* for 1762, p. 72.

⁶ *Ibid.* for 1764, p. 413.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 413-415.

⁸ *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*, edited in 8 volumes, by Peter Cunningham, London, 1857, vol. iv, p. 2.

Much of the controversial literature of the opposition party was simply the voice of the mob. Since in real life the mob delighted in throwing eggs and brickbats at authority, we cannot wonder that they followed similar methods in their controversial writings. The English lower classes, from the days of Wat Tyler, had not, indeed, been lacking in independence of spirit, but during the reign of Tudor and Stuart they had had little opportunity to show their power. The so-called "Age of Reason" may have dwarfed their souls, but it tended to make them refuse to accept doctrines which their reason failed to support. If one man wrote a pamphlet or a satirical poem attacking the deists, another was certain to take issue with him. If the ministry advocated measures offensive to the people they would be assailed immediately by various Lovers of Truth and Friends of Society,⁹ who, if they were powerful enough as writers, would stir up a veritable hornet's nest of controversy. Public characters were fair game. *The Monthly Review*, in its account of *The Fall of Public Spirit: A Dramatic Satire, in two Acts* (1757), sums up quite adequately the attitude of the mob, powerful in its privileges and delighting to pillory the great:

When our Satyrist talks of Prime Ministers, and Nobles, and Ladies of Quality, he seems resolved to give no quarter, well knowing how much we love to see the great folks roasted: abusing a Lord, and pumping a pick-pocket, are the undisputed prerogatives of a British mob.¹⁰

This was written three years before George III came to the throne. It is not surprising that, when the causes for complaint became more serious, the satirist continued to roast the great, and, indeed, not to limit his attack to them. The quarrels waxed more violent, the hatred between parties more keen. The time was ripe for a great satirist who should combine the qualities of a caricaturist like Hogarth with the controversial spirit of Pope, and with the sturdy independence of the British mob. Such a man was Charles Churchill, the renegade parson, who with John Wilkes began to publish *The North Briton* on June 5, 1762. This was the chief organ of the opposition; for forty-five issues it kept up a steady fire upon Bute, the Scots, and the government.

Wilkes and Churchill, however, had not started the quarrel.

⁹ *The Monthly Review* for July-December, 1756, p. 194.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* for July-December, 1757, pp. 87-8.

Bute upon his appointment as prime minister had been instrumental in founding *The Briton*, which was edited by Tobias Smollett, and *The Auditor*, edited by Arthur Murphy. *The Auditor*¹¹ was too scurrilous and dull to be of much aid to *The Briton*, either in winning popularity for Bute or in destroying the popularity of *The North Briton*. The monthly periodicals were filled with discussion of the papers and of the principles enunciated in them. The numerous letters written to the magazines have little value for our purpose except to show with what bitterness the conflict was waged. They are signed with fictitious names and make of Wilkes either a devil or a god according as they honor Bute or hate him. One or two illustrations will suffice to show their attitude and quality. *The Trinobantian*, No. 2, published in *The London Chronicle*, has the following account of *The North Briton*:

Indeed, a weekly retailer of scriptural and historical fragments, has echoed the word Favourite, as if there was something baneful in the very sound; and has tired our patience with senseless allusions to the stories of Gaveston and Spencer: which may possibly impose on those who are weak enough to be amused with words, but will never influence such as consider circumstances before they make applications.¹²

Another of these writers says, under the name Tickle Pitcher:

I have put to rebuke the petulant flippancy of the North Briton, and have proved him to be a haberdasher of small literature, the publisher of a *Chronique Scandaleuse*, the conductor of a weekly libel. The reverend half of him I have shewn to be a mere Oldmixon in politicks [sic], diving, among the Naiads of Fleet Ditch, in the mud of scurrility.¹³

Although Wilkes and Churchill were writing in defense of the Opposition, it would seem improbable that the great leaders like Pitt approved of the virulence of *The North Briton's* attack. Pitt condemned the paper as licentious and criminal;¹⁴ Lord Temple, one of Pitt's associates, although undoubtedly cognizant of the management of *The North Briton*, wrote to Wilkes in terms of guarded disapprobation, advising him not to be too severe in his attack:

¹¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1762, pp. 272-3.

¹² *The London Chronicle*, vol. 12, p. 268.

¹³ *The London Magazine* for 1762, p. 591.

I am quite at a loss to guess through what channels the *North Briton* flows, but I suppose it is meant to be a Southern stream productive of good to the public; but I fear the merchandize it bears will be attended with contrary effects, attacking at once the whole nation of Scotland, by wholesale and retail in so very invidious a manner: and Lord B.'s name at full length may be attended with unhappy consequences.¹⁴

Yet *The North Briton* was no more virulent than its rivals—the only difference was that its editors were brilliant enough and bold enough to make their paper interesting. The whole newspaper war was characterized by bitter personalities. On September 28, 1762, Horace Walpole wrote to the Honorable H. S. Conway, "There are satiric prints enough to tapestry Westminster hall,"¹⁵ and on October 29, he sent him a full discussion of the "flower of brimstone, the best things published in this season of outrage":

I should not have waited for orders, if I had met with the least tolerable morsel. But this opposition ran stark mad at once, cursed, swore, called names, and has not been one minute cool enough to have a grain of wit. Their prints are gross, their papers scurrilous; indeed the authors abuse one another more than anybody else. I have not seen a single ballad or epigram. They are as seriously dull as if the controversy was religious. . . . What lectures will be read to poor children on this aera. Europe taught to tremble, the great King humbled, . . . Wilkes as spotless as Sallust, and the Flamen Churchill knocking down the foes of Britain with statues of the Gods.¹⁶

It would be unprofitable to give a detailed account of every issue of *The North Briton*, for that would entail a similar account of the other papers to which the various numbers were frequently addressed. For instance, *The Auditor*, in number XVII, printed a report of a conversation between Wilkes and Lord Bute's young son:

A young gentleman of 12 years old, who is placed for education at Winchester college, and is son to the noble lord in question, being the other day in a bookseller's shop at Winchester, Col. Oatline entered the place, and most liberally and manfully accosted the youth in these words—

¹⁴ *The Grenville Papers: Being the Correspondence of Richard Grenville Earl Temple, K. G., and the Right Hon: George Grenville, their friends and contemporaries.* Edited, with Notes, by W. J. Smith, Esq. In four volumes. London, 1852, vol. I, p. 457.

¹⁵ Walpole, *Letters*, vol. IV, p. 28.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

'Young gentleman, your father will have his head cut off—*Sir!*—He will lose his head in less than six months—*For what, sir!*—*I never heard that he had done anything amiss: he has a great many friends,—such as * * **—*and * * **—*and the Right Hon. George * * ** Ay! he is your father's great puppy-dog—but depend upon it your father will lose his head, or the mob shall tear him to pieces.' The youth upon this burst into tears, with indignation, and turning short, as he rushed out of the shop, 'You are a squinting scoundrel,' says he, 'for offering to talk to me in this manner.'

It is practically impossible to determine from internal evidence which papers Churchill wrote. We have a letter, however, which proves that *The North Briton* which contains Wilkes's answer to this charge, was managed by Churchill. The letter is written to —, evidently the publisher. It is dated from Winchester, Monday, October 18, [1762]:

I have at last got the *Auditor*, and I shall send you by next Saturday a letter to the *North Briton*, which is a full justification of myself from the charge of the boy. Mr. Churchill undertakes for the next Saturday, but room must be left for a letter of about two pages.

In all events you have a paper with the motto *et cantare pares et respondere parati*.

I am really well pleased with last Saturday's *North Briton*. . . .

I shall not be in town 'till the second week in November: then no more to quit London. Let everything be sent here. I am, Sir, your most humble Servant, John Wilkes.

You may always send to Mr. Churchill, at Mr. Horner's, in Tothill Street, Westminster.

(No direction)

Great George Street.¹⁷

There are two significant details for us to notice in this letter, first, that Churchill had charge of the issue of October 23, 1762, and secondly, that although Wilkes was not to be in town until the second week in November, he directed that everything be sent to him. That is, although Churchill was nominally taking charge of *The North Briton* during those few weeks, Wilkes was in reality running the paper, and writing a great part of it.

On Monday, March 28, 1763, *The London Chronicle* contained a notice that John Wilkes, Member for Aylesbury, set out for France on Saturday (i. e., March 26).¹⁸ On Monday evening, April 11,

¹⁷ *Grenville Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 489-490.

¹⁸ *London Chronicle*, vol. 13, p. 297.

he returned.¹⁹ Hence, in all probability, Churchill had charge for the two weeks, April 2 and April 9.

In a letter written to Wilkes some little time after Wilkes had fought a duel with Lord Talbot, Churchill says, "I have made the N. B. entirely out of your letters,"²⁰ a fact of considerable significance in determining the extent to which Wilkes was the moving spirit in the composition of *The North Briton*. Churchill may have furnished many of the ideas, but he looked always to Wilkes as his leader.

It is interesting to note that in the various accounts of the Wilkes cases there is practically no mention of Churchill. "Wilkes and Liberty" was always the cry of the mob. Churchill had certainly an active share in the production of the paper, but Wilkes, as the owner, was the important figure. Churchill was known widely by his verse, but he was mentioned almost always as the poet, and almost never as the co-editor of *The North Briton*. That he and Wilkes were working in closest harmony is proved by certain letters that have been preserved.

In a volume of Wilkes data in the Sumner collection at Harvard University, is an undated letter from Churchill to Kearsley, the publisher, inquiring about the arrangements for publishing *The North Briton*. Churchill says:

Mr. Wilkes and I are now together, and concerning the N. B. are come to this determination.

We have provided a Printer, who is to send us the Papers in such time that You may have them on Friday at 2 o'clock, and we should be glad to know for a certainty whether You will chose to continue as the Publisher, which will be entirely agreeable to us if it is to You.

I should be glad You would let us know how many You usually print off, and what is the expence of Paper and Printing, so that we may be better judges in what manner to fix the terms with the printer. an answer to this left at Mr. Wilkes any time tonight will oblige

Your very humble Servt _____²¹

In a letter to Wilkes, also undated, Churchill gives him some advice about the contents of *The North Briton*. After mentioning

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

²⁰ *Letters between The Duke of Grafton, . . . etc., and John Wilkes, Esq. With Explanatory Notes.* In two volumes. London, 1769, vol. 1, p. 308.

²¹ *John Wilkes*—in the Sumner Collection of Harvard University, p. 53.

the fact that Wilkes had written the supposed letter from the Pretender to the Earl of Bute, in the issue of February 19, he adds,

Pray finish up the paper against the Tories, which you shewed me. I mean that which has the motto,

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
Tendimus in Latium.

I fear the damned Aristocracy is gaining ground in this country.²²

A poem called *Rodondo: or the State Jugglers*, gives Churchill full credit for his efforts against the Scotch. This work was written chiefly to ridicule Pitt, but contains considerable abuse of Wilkes's co-worker:

How cou'd the muse a Scot endure?
The *rich* North Briton calls them poor!
The *wise* North Briton marks them fools,
And *faction's hackney* stamp rhem [stamps them?] tools,
Great Ch——ll swears they're dull and stale,
His paunch replete with beef and ale;
And nodding o'er the twentieth pot,
Hiccups and belches, D—n a Scot.²³

It would seem that *The North Briton* occupied most of Churchill's attention between June, 1762, and January, 1763. With the exception of the third book of his satirical celebration of the Cock Lane Ghost which appeared in September, 1762,²⁴ he did not produce any poetry until January, 1763, when he published *The Prophecy of Famine: a Scots Pastoral, inscribed to John Wilkes, Esq.*²⁵

I

The Prophecy of Famine, with its 562 lines, may be divided roughly into four parts: (1) lines 1-92, an attack on the taste of contemporary poets; (2) lines 93-272, ironical praise of Scotland as a place where the poet takes refuge from modern taste; (3) lines 273-402, a dialogue between Sawney and Jockey, two Scotch lads; (4) lines 403-562, Famine and her prophecy. The motto for the poem is appropriate:

²² *Wilkes Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 326-7.

²³ *The Critical Review*, vol. 15, p. 127.

²⁴ *The London Chronicle*, vol. 12, p. 306.

²⁵ *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1763, p. 47.

Nos patriam fugimus. Virgil,

which Churchill translates,

We all get out of our country as fast as we can.

The first part of the poem is an attack upon contemporary taste, meaningless invocations to the muse, artificial pastoral trappings for commonplace English scenes, and, most of all, upon the neglect of the heart and personal feelings implied in the wholesale borrowings of exotic landscapes and conventional descriptive words. Even a country lad, says Churchill, cannot woo a cook-maid without first fitting himself at the sacred mount to sing of nymphs and swains.

After a summary of the faults of the poets of his day, Churchill dedicates himself to Nature as the goddess whom he will follow in his poetry. By *Nature* he means simply the normal, the natural order of things, the antithesis of artificial. He then makes the astonishing statement that he will go to Scotland where everything is natural:

By Nature's charms (inglorious truth!) subdued,
However plain her dress, and 'haviour rude,
To northern climes my happier course I steer,
Climes where the goddess reigns throughout the year. . . .²²

With this transition which is so awkward as to suggest that the first part of the poem was not intended to be a part of the whole, Churchill begins a mock encomium of Scotland, and of the benefits which England derives from her—

What wagon-loads of courage, wealth, and sense,
Doth each revolving day import from thence?
To us she gives, disinterested friend!
Faith without fraud, and Stuarts without end.²³

In the third part of the poem the satirist parodies Act I, Scene 1, of Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*. The situation in the early part of *The Gentle Shepherd* is as follows: Patie, the Gentle Shepherd, is in love with Peggy, the supposed niece of Glaud, an old shepherd. Roger, Patie's friend, is in love with Jenny, Glaud's only daughter. In Act I, Scene 1, Roger and Patie discuss their loves. Churchill has taken the characters as outlined in the

²² *The Prophecy of Famine*, ll. 105-8.

²³ *Ibid.*, ll. 113-116.

prologue and has adapted them to his purpose. Hence in *The Prophecy of Famine* we find an incidental parody of *The Gentle Shepherd* and direct satire on Scotch pride and poverty.

A prologue preceding the first scene in *The Gentle Shepherd* gives the setting and the characters:

Beneath the south side of a craigy bield
Where crystal springs their halesome waters yield,
Twa youthfu' shepherds on the gowans lay,
Tenting their flocks ae bonny morn of May.
Poor Roger granes, 'till hollow echoes ring:
But blyther Patie likes to laugh and sing.²⁸

Churchill transfers the characteristics of these two youths to his heroes, Sawney, the pessimist, and Jockey, the optimist. He does not attempt to imitate all the details of the conversation, for his purpose is not to write a play like *The Gentle Shepherd*, but merely to have a means of attacking Scotland through the ironical utterances of her own children.

Sawney and Jockey take refuge from the rigors of the northern climate in the cave of Famine which Churchill adorns with all the horrors that infest a loathsome and hunger-stricken land. Sheltered here, the two boys talk together about their lives, their loves, and their country. They lament the evils that the rebellion had brought with it, the loss of family and friends on battlefield or gibbet. At this point, Churchill drops the parody on *The Gentle Shepherd*, and makes Famine, addressing the boys, curse the land of their birth, and prophesy the glory that will come to them at the expense of the English. She sketches out the history of Scotland, full of countless deeds of treachery that England might well remember, but will soon forget. England will fall into a snare:

Already is this game of fate begun
Under the sanction of my darling son.²⁹

This "darling son," is, of course, Lord Bute, who brings discord into the land under the guise of peace. The English will be deceived into giving honors to the former adherents of the Stuarts,

²⁸ *The Gentle Shepherd, A Scots Pastoral Comedy*, as written by Allan Ramsay, London, 1796 (Bell's British Theatre, vol. 25, p. 13).

²⁹ *The Prophecy of Famine*, ll. 531-2.

who, however loyal they may seem to be, are, nevertheless, traitors at heart.

A satire so virulent, so abusive, naturally makes one wonder whether it was in any way justifiable—whether it was an outburst of righteous indignation or whether it was merely the outpouring of political spite. Lord Bute's policy toward Prussia, England's ally, and toward France, her enemy, was treacherous and weak. He had given many important posts in his government to Scotchmen, who were usually shrewd and able managers. In the English people there had been toward the Scotch from time immemorial, a deep-rooted enmity which was inflamed anew both by the conduct of the minister and by the influx of Scotchmen to London.

The Prophecy of Famine was a product of the same spirit of enmity—its wild and general condemnation of the Scots, its caricature of the true conditions, were characteristics that would appeal to the masses—who were the only group that could be influenced by such appeals. We must not forget that Churchill was from the common people himself, and that his was a nature capable of working itself up to a high pitch of excitement at the words of a demagogue. That demagogue was Wilkes; from the fact that in Churchill's first three poems there was originally little or no reference to the Scotch, we may assume that *The Prophecy of Famine* was largely the result of Wilkes's influence upon his mind. Wilkes hated the Scotch bitterly for political reasons; Churchill hated them mildly and admired Wilkes. His own words betray his attitude:

Think not that the Scottish eclogue totally stands still, or that I can ever be unmindful of any thing, which I think will give *Wilkes* pleasure, and which I am certain will do me honour in having his name prefix'd.²²

Churchill hated the Scotch, but his hatred would not have been so virulent had he not been under the spell of the greatest demagogue of his time.

This is the only one of Churchill's political poems that did not grow out of a definite injury to Wilkes. It was written during the same period as *The North Briton* and may be considered the poetical counterpart of it. It is also the only political poem that

²² *Wilkes Correspondence*: Letter from Churchill to Wilkes, vol. I, p. 306.

Churchill wrote without haste. The later political satires were struck off at white heat—this, in the poet's leisure moments.³¹

The Prophecy of Famine was the inspiration of a number of lesser authors who tried to imitate Churchill. I shall list a few of their works:

1. *The Prophecy of Genius*. Of this *The Monthly Review* says, it "abuses Churchill for being abusive."³²

"It would seem that the first plan of *The Prophecy of Famine* was somewhat different from that of the finished poem. Churchill describes it as follows in a letter to Wilkes. He is speaking of "the Scottish Eclogue": "The present state of it however stands thus—it is split into two poems—the Scottish Eclogue, which will be inscribed to you in the pastoral way—and another poem—which I think will be a strong one—immediately addressed by way of epistle to you—this way they will both be of a piece, otherwise it would have been,

Delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum.

The pastoral begins thus—and I believe will be out soon—but nothing comes out till I begin to be pleas'd with it myself,

When Cupid first instructs, &c., &c.

The other runs thus,

From solemn thought, &c., &c.

Can Wilkes?—I know thou canst—retreat a while
Learn pity's lesson, and disdain to smile.

Oft have I heard thee, &c., &c.

Hirco—the Moral *Hirco*—stains the bed
Of that kind Master, who first gave him bread," etc.

The line quoted "When Cupid first instructs, &c., &c.," is the opening line of *The Prophecy of Famine*,

"When Cupid first instructs his darts to fly."

The second quotation, "From solemn thought, &c., &c.," begins in *The Prophecy of Famine* at line 149, with the succeeding lines changed from

"Can Wilkes?—I know thou canst—retreat a while,
Learn pity's lesson, and disdain to smile,"

to the following:

"At Friendship's summons will my Wilkes retreat
And see, once seen before, that ancient seat,
That ancient seat, where majesty display'd
Her ensign, long before the world was made!"

(*Prophecy of Famine*, ll. 159-162.)

The passage about *Hirco*, Churchill does not use at all in this poem, but inserts it in his satire, *The Conference*, l. 55 ff.

³² *The Monthly Review*, vol. 28, p. 321.

2. *Genius and Valour, a Scotch Pastoral*, a defense of Scotland by an Englishman. *The Monthly Review* received it favorably as a contrast to Churchill's bitter attack, and complimented the author upon the "easy and harmonious flow of his versification."³³

3. *The Prophecy of Famine, Part II.*³⁴ This did not win such favorable treatment:

If Mr. Churchill's poetry needed a foil to set it off to the highest advantage, this anonymous supplement to his celebrated *Scots Pastoral*, would answer the purpose, to the utmost of his wishes.³⁵

One can find ample justification for such censure in lines like the following:

Two cabalistic words the rest excell,
This privilege is call'd and that libel.
These words obscure who labours to explain,
(Like one who wash'd a negro, strives in vain.³⁶

4. *The Jumble*; a Satire, Addressed to the Revd. Mr. Ch-rch-ll. This is rather a general criticism of Churchill and of the reviewers than a direct result of *The Prophecy of Famine*. It may be included here, however, because much of its contemptible verse deals with the Scotch. It says that a whole nation should not suffer for one man.

5. *The Rural Conference, A Pastoral . . . Inscribed to Mr. C. Churchill*. The dedication is couched in the most fulsome terms:

To Mr. Churchill,

Sir,

Permit me to lay at the feet of the first of Patriots, a few sheets, of which the greatest, and perhaps, only merit, consists in their warmth for the best of men, and against the worst of the whole race of mortals. . . . The name of Churchill is not only an ornament to any page, as the favourite of the Muses, but a dignity, as term synonymous [sic] to that of Patriot.³⁷

There follows a commonplace pastoral in the course of which

³³ *The Monthly Review*, vol. 28, p. 398.

³⁴ *The Prophecy of Famine: A Scots Pastoral. Part the Second*, Inscribed to C. Churchill, London, 1763.

³⁵ *The Monthly Review*, vol. 28, p. 488.

³⁶ *The Prophecy of Famine, . . . Part the Second*, p. 25.

³⁷ *The Rural Conference, A Pastoral . . . Dedication*, p. 1.

Daphnis, a young shepherd, quotes the lament of an old shepherd concerning the evils of the time:

The land, O Daphnis! is in parties cut,
From cloud-cap'd mansions, to the clay-built hut."³⁸

After a hundred lines of this twaddle, Daphnis calls solemnly upon heaven to damn to Scotland the author of the nation's ill,

O drive the monster to his native clime,
There let him expiate his horrid crime:
In that accursed land to undergo,
His series of hereditary woe."³⁹

Such rubbish even in brief quotation shows Churchill's great superiority to most of his fellow-writers. It is necessary to remember, however, that men like Johnson, Gray, and Goldsmith did not condescend to soil their hands in the political mire in which Churchill's opponents usually worked. Churchill was a sun among the lesser planets, but he was not among the brightest suns.

None of the petty replies shows the hand of a master. The dedication, just quoted, with its obsequious flattery, was written by no means in order to praise Churchill, but simply to sell the work. The name Churchill had become, by this time a synonym for sensational, half-libelous writing, and whatever bore this name aroused the curiosity of the public. Only the lesser writers would enter the controversy, and since they lacked any literary power themselves, their only hope was to catch the attention of the public by associating their work with that of a greater man. "Whoever did not know the blind rage and senselessness of party, would be amazed at any one's daring to take the people of England for worse than Hottentots, in offering to the foul-feeding and swallow of their credulity such wretched garbage."⁴⁰

This opinion of one who signs himself *A Briton*, is likely to meet the approval of any modern reader who attempts to wade through the writings of Churchill's imitators. They could imitate his abuse, but had neither the wit nor the vigor to imitate his style.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 253-4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, ll. 396-9.

⁴⁰ *The London Magazine* for 1764, p. 525.

II

The next of Churchill's political satires, *The Epistle to William Hogarth*, was published in July, 1763,⁴¹ as the result of a long series of events which had embroiled Churchill and Wilkes with the most distinguished caricaturist and realistic painter of the day. In origin, the quarrel was political. Hogarth was one of the pensioners of Lord Bute, employed by him to defend the administration. This fact alone was sufficient to damn him in the eyes of Wilkes and Churchill, but he aroused their anger still more by publishing, in spite of Wilkes's protest, a print called *The Times*. It appeared in September, 1762, labelled No. 1, as though it were to be the first of a series. "Europe was represented in a conflagration, and the flames were already communicating to Great Britain. Pitt was blowing the fire, which Lord Bute, with a party of soldiers and sailors, assisted by Highlanders, was endeavoring to extinguish, but he was impeded in his design by the Duke of Newcastle, who brought a barrow-full of *Monitors* and *North Britons* to feed the flames."⁴²

The Saturday after the publication of *The Times*, Wilkes printed in *The North Briton*, number seventeen, a very bitter diatribe against Hogarth, which furnished many ideas for Churchill's *Epistle*. Wilkes attacks him not only for *The Times* but also for his painting, *Sigismunda*. Of the latter he says:

If the figure had a resemblance of any thing ever on earth or had the least pretence to meaning or expression, it was what he had seen, or perhaps made, in real life, his own wife in an agony of passion: but of what passion no connoisseur could guess. . . . The darling passion of Mr. Hogarth is to show the faulty and dark side of every object. He never gives us in perfection the *fair face of nature*, but admirably well holds out her deformities to ridicule. The reason is plain. All objects are painted on his *retina* in a grotesque manner, and he has never felt the force of what the French call *la belle nature*. . . . He has succeeded very happily in the way of humour, and has miscarried in every other attempt. This has arose in some measure from his head, but much more from his heart.⁴³

⁴¹ Wright, T. *Caricature History of the Georges* . . . London, 1868, pp. 264 ff.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁴³ *The North Briton*. Two volumes. London, 1763, vol. I, pp. 154-6.

Wilkes charges that Hogarth's heart is bad, that his genius is waning, that he borrows ideas from others, that *The Times* is devoid of *original* merit. He then writes the passage that contains most of the ideas that Churchill later uses in his *Epistle*. It is, of course, quite conceivable that Churchill suggested the details of this article or even wrote it:

I own too that I am grieved to see the genius of Hogarth, which should take in all ages and countries, sunk to a level with the miserable tribe of party etchers, and now, in his rapid decline, entering into the poor politics of the faction of the day, and descending to low personal abuse, instead of instructing the world, as he could once, by manly moral satire. Whence can proceed so surprizing [sic] a change? Is it the forwardness of old age? or is it that envy and impatience of resplendent merit in every way, at which he has always sickened? How often has he been remarked to droop at the fair and honest applause given even to a friend, tho he had particular obligations to the very same gentleman? What wonder then that some of the most respectable characters of the age become the objects of his ridicule? It is sufficient that the rest of mankind applaud: from that moment he begins the attack, and you never can be well with him, till he hears an universal outcry against you, and till all your friends have given you up. . . . The public never had the least share of *Hogarth's* regard, or even good-will. *Gain* and *vanity* have steered his little light bark quite thro' life. He has never been consistent but with respect to those two principles. . . . his insufferable vanity will never allow the least merit in another, and no man of a liberal turn of mind will ever condescend to feed his pride with the gross and fulsome praise he expects, or to burn the incense he claims, and indeed snuff like a most gracious God. To this he joins no small share of jealousy; in consequence of which he has all his life endeavoured to suppress rising merit, and has been very expert in every mean underhand endeavour, to extinguish the least spark of genuine fire.⁴⁴

It was nearly a year before Hogarth had an opportunity to retaliate. Wilkes in the meantime had continued to publish *The North Briton* until he printed Number 45, in which he over-reached himself by attacking the king himself. For this act he was arrested by general warrant and imprisoned in the Tower. On May 3, he appeared before the Court of Common Pleas, and on the 6th, Justice Pratt decided that his privilege as a member of parliament extended to all offences except treason, felony, and breach of the peace. He was therefore set free, and, amid shouts of applause, went home accompanied by the crowd. At the second appearance of Wilkes in Westminster Hall before Justice Pratt, Hogarth drew

⁴⁴ *The North Briton*, vol. 1, pp. 157-9.

the demoniacal sketch that has made Wilkes known for all time as "Squinting Jack."⁴⁵ Churchill was also present, and hastened, in *The Epistle to William Hogarth*, to attack the assailant of his friend.

The poem contains 654 lines, the first 308 of which are an indirect attack upon Hogarth, and the remaining lines, direct invective. The first portion consists of a dialogue between the poet and Candour, in which the poet paints a very gloomy picture of the times. He assails the excise, the Scotch, and the leaders of the administration. Candour accuses him of falsehood; she insists that no monster could be found whose guilt could equal that which he attributed to all; she challenges him to find even one man whose evil doings would justify such an attack. The poet answers with one word: Hogarth.

Then in a rush of contemptuous words he bids his victim come to the judgment. With all the brutality of a Jeffreys he brings charge upon charge against him—of envy of those who win fame, of spite against Wilkes, the savior of his country. On the day when the very principles of English liberty were at stake, and Wilkes was on trial, Hogarth was at his deadly work:

Lurking, most ruffian-like, behind the screen
So placed all things to see, himself unseen.⁴⁶

The baseness of the man contrasts with his acknowledged supremacy as an artist—and his fall is the more pitiable because of his greatness.

The final lines in the Epistle, although the least justifiable in the poem, are among the finest Churchill ever wrote. In them he rises to splendid heights of satiric verse as he describes the pathos and the tragedy of an old age like that of Swift and Steele, the premature night that settles first upon the mind:

What bitter pangs must humble genius feel,
In their last hours, to view a Swift and Steele!
How must ill-boding horrors fill her breast
When she beholds men mark'd above the rest
For qualities most dear, plunged from that height,
And sunk, deep sunk, in second childhood's night;

⁴⁵ Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 269 for this caricature.

⁴⁶ *The Epistle to William Hogarth*, ll. 409-410.

Are men, indeed, such things, and are the best
 More subject to this evil than the rest,
 To drivel out whole years of idiot breath,
 And sit the monuments of living death!
 O, galling circumstance to human pride!
 Abasing thought, but not to be denied.
 With curious art the brain, too finely wrought,
 Preys on herself, and is destroy'd by thought.
 Constant attention wears the active mind,
 Blots out our powers, and leaves a blank behind.
 But let not youth, to insolence allied,
 In heat of blood, in full career of pride,
 Possess'd of genius, with unhallow'd rage
 Mock the infirmities of reverend age:
 The greatest genius to this fate may bow;
 Reynolds, in time, may be like Hogarth now."

With these magnificently satiric lines the poem closes, and we are left with the picture of Hogarth in our minds—old and feeble, a wreck of his former self, worsted in a contest from which his years should have deterred him. His offence, however, did not warrant the punishment. He was a follower of Bute; he had published a political print against Pitt; he had drawn a caricature of Wilkes, which, although highly uncomplimentary, was no whit worse than most of the other cartoons of the day. It would seem that Wilkes was the first to begin personalities, and Churchill's verbal caricature of the old man is both unworthy of him and entirely uncalled-for. The quarrel was political; the fact that Hogarth had been formerly a friend of both Wilkes and Churchill, gave them still less excuse for directing personal abuse upon him.

Yet Hogarth, in spite of his age, was by no means an idiot incapable of giving Churchill as good as he had given. The attack by Wilkes and Churchill, inspired by politics, had degenerated into personalities; Hogarth's reply was a print called "The Bruiser, C. Churchill, (once the Rev.,) in the character of a Russian Hercules, regaling himself after having killed the monster Caricatura, that so severely galled his virtuous friend, the heaven-born Wilkes."⁴⁸

The print represents Churchill as a bear with parson's bands. In one hand he holds a pot of porter, and in the other a knotty club on which every knot is labelled — "Lie 1.," "lie 2.," etc. Hogarth's dog is treating the Epistle with great disrespect. In a

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 633-654.

⁴⁹ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

second edition of the print, Hogarth represents himself as a bear-master with a whip, forcing Churchill, the bear, and Wilkes, the monkey, to dance. The monkey is holding a *North Briton* in one hand.⁴⁹

This controversy made Hogarth the object of many caricatures which ridiculed him especially as the defender of Lord Bute. One, *The Bruiser Triumphant*, portrays "Hogarth as an ass, painting the Bruiser, while Wilkes comes behind, and places horns on his head—an allusion to some scandalous intimations in *The North Briton*. Churchill, in the garb of a parson, is writing Hogarth's life."⁵⁰ In another sketch, "Pug the snarling cur" is receiving severe punishment from Wilkes and Churchill.⁵¹

The warfare was by no means confined to caricatures, however, for a number of third-rate writers sprang up to imitate Churchill. I shall list the more important of their works:

1. *Pug's Reply to Parson Bruin. Or, a Polemical Conference occasioned by an Epistle to William Hogarth, Esq. by C. Churchill.*

It contains a pert and insipid dialogue supposed to pass between a dog and a bear, or, as the author calls them, *Serjeant Pug* and *Parson Bruin*; with a print of them by way of frontispiece.⁵²

2. *Churchill's Epistle to William Hogarth, Esq. Re-versified.* . . . With Notes, is Churchill's poem with a new third line added to every couplet. Neither these lines nor the notes to the poem show even a glimmering of humor. We can get from the following extract an idea of the literary merit of the inserted lines:

And Charley Ch—ll like a puppet squeaks.
 Poor Sigismunda.

 Profanely nick-nam'd by a damn'd divine.

 As sure as Abel was the son of Eve.⁵³

3. *The Group: composed of the most shocking Figures, though the greatest in the Nation, painted in an Elegy on the saddest Subjects, the living, the dead, and the damned: such as Hogarth,*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *The Critical Review*, vol. 16, pp. 70-1.

⁵³ *Churchill's Epistle to William Hogarth, Esq. Re-versified. With Notes.* London, 1763, ll. 729, 732, 735.

Dishonourable Right Honourable, &c. &c. &c. Inscribed to John Wilkes (who is above Title) and Charles Churchill. By Salvator Rosa, or rather the real Friend of Mr. Wilkes.

In the sixth page of this heap of ribaldry, [the author] has the most audacious impudence to compare Wilkes to the Saviour of the world! ⁵⁴

4. *Liberty in the Suds: or Modern Characters.* In a Letter to a Friend. By Theophilus Hogarth, Gent. *The Critical Review* comments,

[He] abuses the great for insincerity, Churchill for impudence, and couples him and Wilkes together, in exposing them, like bear and monkey, to the ridicule of the public. ⁵⁵

5. *The Snarling Pug and Dancing Bear.* A Fable Addressed to Messrs. Hogarth and Churchill. Three old maids, Taste, Fashion, and Party, have a number of pets, among them a pug-dog and a bear. Bruin is Churchill:

Rough Bruin, but as yet a cub
Unlick'd, and yet unwean'd from bub
Was board'd with a neighbouring vicar,
And nurtur'd with his fav'rite liquor.
Hence, growing sturdy and mischievous,
He oft committed outrage grievous; . . . ⁵⁶

Such was the controversy between the greatest caricaturist of the age and its great and little satirists. Although *The Epistle* contains some good poetry and excellent satire, its severity was scarcely merited by Hogarth's offence. The personal bitterness was unjustifiable. Over a year later, in his poem, *Independence*, Churchill wrote a couplet which hinted that Hogarth had already died—presumably killed by *The Epistle*. He is speaking about himself as a poet:

Hogarth would draw him (Envy must allow)
E'en to the life, was Hogarth living now. ⁵⁷

A few weeks after the publication of *Independence*, Hogarth was dead, and in less than a month later, Churchill followed him.

⁵⁴ *The Monthly Review*, vol. 29, p. 468.

⁵⁵ *The Critical Review*, vol. 17, p. 239.

⁵⁶ *The Annual Register* for 1763, pp. 232-236.

⁵⁷ Churchill, *Independence*, ll. 177-8.

III

From the time of Wilkes's release in May, 1763, until November of the same year there was very little literary activity on Churchill's part. Wilkes, by his attacks on Bute and the ministerial party, had become the idol of the populace.⁵⁸ All through the summer the newspapers were filled with letters arguing his case. Meanwhile,

"A curious tract parodying the church service shows to what extent some of Wilkes's admirers were willing to go. It did not appear until 1768 (*Monthly Review*, vol. 38, p. 505) but is entirely typical of the Wilkes-worshipping spirit rampant at the period we are considering:

"*Britannia's Intercession, for the Deliverance of John Wilkes, Esq. from Persecution and Banishment. To which is added, a political and constitutional Sermon: and a Dedication to L * * * B * * *. London. . .*"

At the beginning of this intercession, the orator shall pronounce, with an audible voice, one of these passages

When B * * * turneth from the error of his way, and doeth that which is seemly and good, he shall wear his plaid in peace.—*Scots Journ.*

To Wilkes belonged freedom and greatness of spirit, though many have devised against him, and complied not with the words of his mouth.

—*North Briton.*

Through the spirit of Wilkes we are yet in the land of freedom, because his exertion in that point faileth not.—*Polit. Regist.*

Give thanks, O ye people, give thanks unto Wilkes, for he is mighty amongst us.—*Let. to H—y.*

O let the wickedness of a favourite come to an end, but establish the upright and free-born.—*No. 45.*

We waited patiently for Wilkes, and he came unto us, and he heard our moan.—*Gaz.*

Then follows the service, substituting Wilkes for God—one example will suffice:

"The N * * * * B * * * * is his, and he made it, his head prepared the matter thereof. . . . As thou wert in the beginning thou art now, and ever will be, liberty without end. Amen."

The Wilkonian creed is substituted for that of the Apostles:

"I believe in Wilkes, the firm patriot, maker of number 45. Who was born for our good. Suffered under arbitrary power. Was banished and imprisoned. He descended into purgatory, and returned soon after. He ascended here with honour, and sitteth amidst the great assembly of the people, where he shall judge both the favourite and his creatures. I believe in the spirit of his abilities, that they will prove to the good of our country. In the resurrection of liberty, and the life of universal freedom for ever. Amen." (John Wilkes volume in Sumner Collection of Harvard University Library.)

the leaders of the administration were not idle. Balked of their prey by the decision of Justice Pratt that Wilkes's arrest was a breach of parliamentary privilege, they set about securing his downfall by other means.

After the publication of *The North Briton* No. 45, and Wilkes's consequent tilt with the king's ministers, there was so much interest in the publication that Wilkes felt he would be justified in republishing it in book-form. He, therefore, although against the advice of Lord Temple, had the first forty-five numbers of *The North Briton* reprinted, with Williams as publisher. On his private press he had printed *The Essay on Woman*, an obscene parody of Pope's *Essay on Man*, and also a parody on the *Veni Creator*. Of the *Essay on Woman* he printed only thirteen copies, one of which, unfortunately for Wilkes, his enemies were able to get from a man employed by him. The work was dedicated to a courtesan, Fanny Murray, and contained notes ascribed to Bishop Warburton, and an appendix of blasphemies. The author was probably Thomas Potter.⁵⁹

After the publication of *The North Briton*, Number 45, Wilkes

⁵⁹ *The Papers of a Critic, Selected from the Writings of the late Charles Wentworth Dilke. With a Biographical Sketch by his grandson, Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke.* In two volumes. London, 1875, vol. II, pp. 264 ff. There is a manuscript of a poem of the same title but not by Wilkes or Potter in the British Museum (Addit. ms. 30887). This lacks both dedication and notes. It begins with the words, "'Awake, my Sandwich,' and is in fact entirely distinct from the poem inscribed to Fanny Murray, of which one of the few extant exemplars, beginning with the words 'Awake, my Fanny,' is in the Dyce Library at the South Kensington Museum." (*D. N. B.* article by J. M. Rigg, on John Wilkes.) The spurious piece was printed under Wilkes's name and not denied by him. Still another spurious piece is ascribed on the title-page to "J. W. Senator" (in the Epilogue "Julio Manlovi, Senator of Lucca."). This appeared in London in 1763, 4to. In the library of the University of Pennsylvania is a collection of Wilkes's works containing *An Essay on Women* and other works too coarse for general circulation. It is entitled,

"An Essay on Woman and other Pieces printed at the private press in Great George Street, Westminster, in 1763, and now reproduced in facsimile from a copy believed to be unique. To which are added Epigrams and Miscellaneous Poems Now First Collected By the Right Hon. John Wilkes M. P. for Aylesbury, and afterwards Lord Mayor of London, etc.—London. Privately printed September, 1771. This also may be an imposture, but it corresponds to the account given in *D. N. B.* quoted above.

went to France. On September 28, he returned to England, and on November 12, published *The North Briton*, No. 46. On November 15, at the opening of Parliament, the administration answered his challenge. Wilkes was present as member from Aylesbury, and, in the House of Commons, tried to protest against the breach of his privilege in the affair of *The North Briton*. The king's friends were prepared, however, and Grenville forestalled him with a royal message that contained a full account of all the proceedings against Wilkes.

The question was discussed at great length. It involved not merely *The North Briton*, but also parliamentary privilege and personal freedom of speech. Wilkes had criticized the administration freely, and now, with its hired majority in the House of Commons, it was able to retaliate. It ordered that *The North Briton* No. 45 should be burned by the hangman, as a false and seditious libel.

Meanwhile, the House of Lords was not idle. Sandwich, who had obtained a copy of *The Essay on Woman*, began reading it aloud to his fellow-peers; on his motion they considered the ascribing of the notes to Bishop Warburton a breach of that gentleman's privilege. They assumed that Wilkes was the author and ordered that he be prosecuted by the Attorney-General in the Court of King's Bench for printing and publishing an impious libel. The carrying out of this sentence, however, was interfered with by the duel with Martin.

Samuel Martin, formerly Secretary to the Treasury, had nourished an enmity against Wilkes ever since March 5, when *The North Briton*, No. 40, had called him "the most treacherous, base, selfish, mean, abject, low lived and dirty fellow, that ever wriggled himself into a secretaryship."⁶⁰

On November 15, Martin joined the other Wilkes-baiters, and mentioning *The North Briton*, said, "Whoever stabs a reputation in the dark, without setting his name, is a cowardly, malignant, and scandalous scoundrel."⁶¹ Looking at Wilkes, he repeated this twice. Wilkes wrote to him avowing the authorship of the offending paper, and asking whether Martin had intended the words

⁶⁰ *The North Briton*, vol. II, pp. 174-5.

⁶¹ Walpole, *Letters*, vol. IV, p. 125.

cowardly scoundrel for him.⁶² Martin replied that he had, and challenged him to a duel. He fought Wilkes with pistols in Hyde Park, at a distance of fourteen yards. The first shots missed their mark, but with his second shot, Martin wounded his opponent in the abdomen. Wilkes told Martin that he would not say anything against him, and that he should get away into safety. The wound, although serious enough to prevent Wilkes's attending the sessions of Parliament, did not cause his death. At Christmas time he went to Paris. This duel furnished the occasion for Churchill's next satire, *The Duellist*.

The Duellist,⁶³ written in octosyllabic verse, is divided into three books, which vary in length: the first contains 249 lines, the second, 294, and the third, 474. In the first book the poet gives us the general setting of the action: it is midnight; in the second book he becomes more specific—he takes us to the temple of Liberty; in the third, he shows us the actual scene of the conspiracy against Wilkes, a cave beneath the temple.

In describing the night of the conspiracy, Churchill uses all the stock-figures attendant upon nights in which evil deeds are planned, the owl, ghosts, thunder, and lightning. In addition to numberless unnamed ghosts he brings forward the friends of Liberty in olden times, Hampden and Sir Philip Sidney, to mourn for their patriot brother, Wilkes:

Old Time himself, his scythe thrown by,
Himself lost in eternity,
An everlasting crown shall twine
To make a Wilkes and Sidney join.⁶⁴

In contrast to the praise given to Wilkes is the curse directed against Martin, in which the attack is veiled by the indirect method. The poet can think of no more adequate curse for the most evil assassin than this:

May he—O for a noble curse
Which might his very marrow pierce—

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁶³ The exact date of its publication is obscured by the fact that although *The Monthly Review* mentions it in the Appendix to volume 29 (July-December, 1763, p. 531), *The London Chronicle* for January 21-24, 1764, advertises it as just published. (*London Chronicle*, vol. 15, p. 74).

⁶⁴ *The Duellist*, I, ll. 207-210.

The general contempt engage,
And be the Martin of his age.⁶⁸

Book II has for its general subject, the Temple of Liberty, which represents allegorically the British constitution. Churchill notes with concern its unsound pillars and tottering roof; he laments the patches with which unworthy men have tried to repair it. Various distinguished builders had examined it, but did not know whether it would be better to tear it down altogether or whether, if they tried to improve its condition, they would simply hasten its decay. The golden age with its simple virtues has past away; the lovers of freedom have perished.

Now, into this strange medley of allegory and fact, the satirist introduces a printing-press, the throne of Liberty, Liberty herself, and around her a statue-like group of Courage, Honour, Peace, War, Justice, Mercy, Health, and Virtue. This is one of Churchill's few unintentionally ludicrous situations: an allegorized Temple of Liberty—which is certainly not Wilkes's house in Great George Street—and in it a model printing-press!

But times have changed: the Temple of Liberty is ruined, and her friends are disgraced. Liberty is hooted at wherever she goes, and her place is taken by the king's messengers. The printers rush away, and their persecutors set their mark upon the books that are left behind. Statecraft takes her place on the throne which Liberty has left.

The third book of *The Duellist* is concerned with the actual conspiracy, or at least with Churchill's idea of it. The scene is laid in a cave beneath the temple, a place of labyrinths and mazes where only one passage leads to the secret cell of Fraud. There the treacherous goddess prepares the snares by which men fall, the stars and garters that

Forbid a freeman to be free.⁶⁹

In this subterranean hiding-place, three conspirators plan the fate of Wilkes. The remainder of the poem is taken up largely by character-sketches of these three, William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, Sir Fletcher Norton, and Sandwich.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 245-8.

⁶⁹ *The Duellist*, Bk. III, l. 40.

The overdrawn sketch of the Bishop of Gloucester is the most severe of the three. Warburton was a scholar of wide reputation and broad culture, hated by many for his pugnacity, but by no means the monster whom Churchill portrays. The main reason for the attack was that when the question of *The Essay on Woman* came up in Parliament, Warburton, at Sandwich's request, made one or two speeches. One extract will serve to indicate the tone of the whole: the bishop was so proud,

that should he meet
The twelve Apostles in the street,
He'd turn his nose up at them all,
And shove his Saviour from the wall;⁶⁷

The three conspirators rack their brains to find a scheme by which they can rid themselves of Wilkes, the disturber of their plans. Finally, Fraud comes forth from her hiding-place, and says that her youngest born will destroy the foe. Straightway Martin the duellist steps forth, clad in armor, ready for the attack upon Wilkes.

The Duellist was one of the few of Churchill's works that did not produce a number of imitations or replies. This is due in all probability both to the favor with which the people looked upon Wilkes and to the fear which his treatment by the government inspired in them. About this time, however, appear notices of a few poems evidently influenced by his writings as a whole. One of these is *The Patriot Poet, a Satire. Inscribed to the Reverend Mr. Ch——ll. By a Country Curate*. The author thus describes Churchill's style:

—thou, sonorous Ch—, teach my line
To flow exuberantly wild like thine:
Teach me to twist a thought a thousand ways,
And string with idle particles my lays:
That, one poor sentiment exhausted, *when*
The weary reader hopes a respite, *then*
I may spring on with force redoubled, *till*
I break him panting breathless to my will:
And make him, tir'd in periods of a mile,
Gape in deep wonder at my rapid stile.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ll. 129-132.

⁶⁸ *The Critical Review*, vol. 17, p. 315.

In *The Duellist*, there are practically no passages which might be quoted merely for their poetical power. This, however, is natural in a poem intended absolutely as a polemic. Wrath may raise a poet to heights of righteous indignation or it may lower him to lampoon. It had the latter effect upon Churchill. His verse in *The Duellist* caricatures too freely: his villains, losing their personality, become mere burlesque figures. In the third book, especially, he forgets poetry in his overwhelming desire to lash the man who had injured Wilkes.

Elaborate allegory is not suitable for invective. The satirist is forced to drop it whenever he wishes to be particularly severe, and this produces a ludicrous effect—one cannot with impunity place a printing-press in the temple of Liberty! His poem would have been far better unified had he reduced it to one longer book dealing with the conspiracy. As it is, we have a medley, a series of details strung loosely together to lead up to the appearance of the duellist. Three shifts of scene are too many for a short poem. We should not have to wander in a dark night to a temple of Liberty, and then descend to a cave before we discover Martin. Churchill had the material for an allegorical poem on liberty and a satiric poem on the duel. By trying to combine the two he failed to produce any unified effect. We forget the first two books because they are not closely knit with the account of the conspiracy.

Boldness and vigor are the chief merits of the poem. It expressed the indignation pent up in many hearts against the ministerial tyranny that had oppressed free speech. Many who felt that Wilkes had been too lavish in his abuse of the party in power, were eager to condemn the methods by which his enemies brought about his downfall. The people dared even to express their disapproval to the king. Walpole writes on December 29, 1763, to the Earl of Hertford:

The last time the King was at Drury-lane, the play given out for the next night was 'All in the Wrong': the galleries clapped, and then cried out, 'Let us be all in the right! Wilkes and Liberty!' When the King comes to a theatre, or goes out, or goes to the House, there is not a single applause; to the Queen there is a little: in short, *Louis le bienaimé* is not French at present for King George."

" Walpole, *Letters*, vol. iv, p. 154.

It was this spirit that Churchill expressed: aside from its literary value, his verse has a very definite importance in interpreting the life of the time. There is no better commentary upon the condition of politics in 1763 than *The Prophecy of Famine* or *The Epistle to William Hogarth*. On the other hand, the only way to appreciate Churchill is to know him in his surroundings and to know the men of his age. The great poems of the world may be studied apart from their authors, and have a universal appeal. We can understand their meaning better, perhaps, by interpreting them as the records of a life or of a century, but they are intelligible in themselves as an exposition of the meaning of existence. But to judge Churchill aright we must know the London of 1760-1765; we must watch the rising spirit of the people; we must, with them, view with apprehension the attitude of the king; we, too, must take sides and enter the conflict at the shoulder of this burly priest, who, in spite of his faults, was a true lover of liberty.

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ROMAN ACTORS

BY G. KENNETH G. HENRY

This paper aims to collect and examine such references as can be found in Latin literature to individual actors, with a view to presenting an understanding of the various actors' individuality and their services to the Roman theatre. With the exception of a very few actors, such as the great Roscius, the material is not extensive. I have endeavored to go to original sources, relying little on the commentators, though not entirely disregarding their analysis. Ribbeck's *Schauspieler* in his *Römische Tragoedia im Zeitalter der Republik* is short in its treatment and deals with only some eight actors. The great work of Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, has been most valuable, and his references to sources have been extensively used in the preparation of the paper. Friedländer, however, leaves his references to actors scattered throughout his entire work. The present discussion, chiefly biographical, gathers the material together into a consistent whole. The names are arranged as nearly as may be in historical order.

An examination of Latin literature brings to light some twenty actors mentioned at least by name belonging to the Republican period. Those of great renown are Livius Andronicus, actor of his own compositions; Pellio, probably stage manager as well as actor in the time of Plautus; L. Ambivius Turpio, L. Atilius Praenestinus, Minutius Prothymus, of the period of Terence; Roscius and Aesopus of the Ciceronian age. These were all actors of note in their day. Other more insignificant performers are Rupilius, Hilarus, Fufius, Catienus, Panurgus, Eros. Under the Empire Demetrius, Stratocles, Glyco, Apelles, Sophron, Publilius Syrus were the greatest actors of the legitimate drama. Of no less fame, or ill-fame, are the pantomimic and dramatic dancers, Bathyllus, Pylades, Hylas, Paris, Mnester, and many others of less renown.

ANDRONICUS

Livius Andronicus, first and chiefly, of course, to be regarded as the founder of Roman *palliatae*, was also an actor. He is the first performer mentioned, but is no more to be considered as belonging

to the actor's profession than Aeschylus, who was a performer of his own plays. According to Livy,¹ Andronicus belonged to a period before the time when acting by free citizens was, in general, restricted to the Atellanae and Exodia: *idem, id quod omnes tum erant, suorum carminum actor*. Euanthius preserves the tradition: *Latinae fabulae primo a Livio Andronico scriptae sunt, adeo cuncta re etiam tum recenti, ut idem et actor suarum fabularum fuisset*.²

The popularity won from his audience by Andronicus is attested by the assigning to him of a building, a sort of theatre, on the Aventine hill, the first approach to a theatre in Rome. This building was occupied by a troupe of actors.³ Andronicus continued to maintain his popularity to an extreme old age. Livy tells of a late appearance by him on the stage. On one occasion the audience repeatedly demanded the repetition of some favorite lines. Andronicus's voice failed and he introduced a boy who relieved him of the recitative, in concert with the flute. Andronicus devoted himself to only the gesture and action of his part, employing his voice only in the conversational scenes and less elevated passages.⁴ Livy is evidently describing an incident of the old age of the poet. Euanthius implies that the ban was put on the actor's profession as soon as the keen edge of the drama's newness wore off, *re etiam tum recenti*.⁵ But Andronicus acted for over a quarter of a century. His first production was in the year 240.⁶ Cato in the *De Senectute* states that he had seen the old man Livius when he himself was a youth.⁷ Cato's birth was in 235 and Andronicus was evidently acting in 220. Again Livy states that a hymn composed by Andronicus was sung in the year 208.⁸ Livy does not say when the hymn was composed, but Festus⁹ informs us that great honors were paid Andronicus after the recitation of a hymn at the celebration of the Roman success in the second Punic war. At any rate acting by play-writers was continued through the life of Gnaeus Naevius. The *puer*, or slave, introduced by Andronicus to the Roman stage may well point to the beginning, and the cause,

¹ Livy, vii, 2.

² Euanth., *Com.*, iv, 3. The source of Euanthius' information is doubtless the passage in Livy.

³ Festus, *s. v. scribas*.

⁴ Euanth., *loc. cit.*

⁵ *De Senect.*, c. 14.

⁶ *s. v., scribas*.

⁷ Livy, vii, 2.

⁸ Cic., *Brut.*, xvii.

⁹ Livy, 27, 37.

of the degradation of the actor's profession at Rome. The Roman stage, says Livy, continued the innovation. There doubtless resulted a competition of free and slave born on the stage, and the Romans were always disinclined to compete with the lower class.

Andronicus as an actor supported the characters familiar to us in the plays of Plautus and Terence, drawing, as we see from his titles, from the Menander school. In tragedy his impersonations were from the later Greek tragedies and the Alexandrian revisions of the three great Attic masters.¹⁰ Coming as he did from Tarentum, he was already familiar with acting at the Dionysiac festivals which enjoyed such popularity in southern Italy.

NAEVIUS

Gnaeus Naevius, who brought out his earliest productions in 235, only five years after the first attempts of Andronicus at dramatization, was doubtless an actor of his own plays.¹¹ Cicero puts his death as early as 204. He thus comes within the period mentioned by Livy when play-writer and play-actor were combined in the same man. Accounted by the ancients a better comic than tragic poet, Naevius was probably a better comedian than tragedian. Cicero's quotation of his jests would seem to point to such a tradition.

We can only imagine how Naevius carried off his *Romulus* or his *Lupus* or his *Clastidium*. The lack of humor in the Elder Scipio and the noble Metelli has closed the door to even a look-in on Roman knights and senators on the stage. The furore created by Naevius's satire again contributed to the lowering of the actor's art and it is hardly likely that Ennius, the poet of great families, ventured on the actor's part.

PELLIO

The first purely Roman actor of whom we have notice is Pellio. Andronicus and Naevius were actors only incidentally to their more serious profession of play-writing. Pellio was an actor by profession. He belongs to the time of Plautus. That writer, in the *Bacchides*, through the character of Chrysalus, complains that the

¹⁰ *Vid.* Ward in *Ency. Brit. sub Drama*.

¹¹ Aul. Gel., 17, 21.

unfavorable reception accorded the *Epidicus*, a play he "loved as well as his own self," was due to Pelloio:

etiam Epidicum, quam ego fabulam aequae ac ipsum amo,
nullam aequae inuitus specto, si Pelloio egit.¹²

Unfortunately *egit* here, as elsewhere, does not differentiate between Pelloio as actor and as stage manager, *dominus gregis*. Pelloio may well have spoiled as good a play as the *Epidicus* either as actor of leading parts or as stage director.

Symmachus gives Pelloio a place of renown by grouping him with the greatest exponents of Roman drama, Ambivius, Roscius and Aesopus: *non idem pronuntiandis fabulis P. Pelloni qui Ambivio fuit neque par Aesopi et Roscio*.¹³ From this we should suppose that Pelloio was not some miserable actor of the time, as Riley assumes,¹⁴ but that he exhibited in the *Epidicus* a lack of his more usual abilities.

AMBIVIVS

But the greatest actor of the early republic, and in fact one of the greatest of all time, was L. Ambivivus Turpio. He is mentioned more than once as an artist of the highest order. Cicero speaks of him as a model of the best acting: *ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima*.¹⁵ So also Tacitus,¹⁶ complaining that oratory of the older order has become obsolete, says that it is no more in demand than if one should use the gesture of an Ambivivus or a Roscius on the stage:—*quam si quis in scaena aut Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivivi exprimere gestus velit*.

Ambivivus may be considered from two points of view: as player and as an influence on literature. The *didaescalia* appended to the plays of Terence indicate that Ambivivus was the chief performer, if not the stage manager, at the presentation of the comedies of Terence. In each of these notices we read: *egit L. Ambivivus Turpio*. *Egit* doubtless means both acted and managed the play in hand. With him rested the responsibility for the success of the piece, which seems to have depended on the spirit with which it

¹² *Bacch.* 215-6.

¹³ *Trans. Bacch., loc. cit., n.*

¹⁴ *Dial. de Orat.*, 20.

¹⁵ *Sym.*, x, 2.

¹⁶ *De Senect.*, c. 20.

was rendered. He would also seem to be the speaker of the prologues of the *Hecyra* and of the *Hauton Timorumenos*. In fact Eugraphius states positively¹⁷ that Ambivius was the prologuist; and Faenus says that in some copies the name of L. Ambivius is over the word *prologus* in great letters, as also in the Basilican copy.

In the prologue to the *Hecyra*, Ambivius claims that he had popularized the plays of the poet Caecilius, when that writer's plays were unknown: *novas qui exactas feci ut inveterascent*. The disfavor with which the *Hecyra* had previously been received called for the intervention of a popular actor, though usually the prologue was delivered by one of the lesser actors, *actores partium secundarum aut tertium*.¹⁸ But Ambivius was rated so high in popular favor that his appearance in behalf of the *Hecyra* went far toward guaranteeing its success.

The conclusion is quite irresistible that Ambivius was manager and director as well as actor. He appeals, for example, to the audience to remember his generosity in not covetously setting a large price on his services, but that he considers the serving of his audience's entertainment the highest reward. He begs that the play be received favorably that he may be encouraged to purchase new plays: "For my sake grant my plea and attend in silence that it may be possible for others to write and for me to learn new plays after this, purchased at my own expense (*posthac pretio emptas*)."
Donatus, here, to be sure, thinks that *pretio meo* means *aestimatione a me facta quantum aediles darent*, i. e. that the aediles, only, purchased plays and that they consulted Ambivius as to the proper price to be set upon the piece. Donatus's interpretation of *pretio* as equal to *aestimatione* is quite unnatural and unsupported by the use of *pretium* elsewhere in Terence, of which there are at least twelve instances. The purchase of a play by a manager, too, is supported by Juvenal, who, complaining of the hard financial lot of the poet, suggests that the poet Statius should sell his tragedy, the *Agave*, to Paris, the actor and play-manager. Ambivius, as mere play-actor, would not be purchasing plays from the playwright or from the aediles; as *magister gregis* he may reasonably have done so. And whether *pretio* is to be interpreted literally, as indicating the purchase of plays by Ambivius, or figuratively, according

¹⁷ *Prol. Hecy.*

¹⁸ *Prol. Hecy., prol. Haut. Tim. Horace, Ep. 1, 18, 14.*

to Donatus, meaning that he was only asked to set a price for the magistrates, the conclusion can only be that he was an experienced stage manager.

Again the tone of the prologuist's words suggests a manager rather than a mere actor: "Allow me to gain my request, that he who has entrusted his labors to my protection and himself to your trust in him may not be beset by the malicious and derided on every side." Terence entrusted his interests to Ambivius: *in tutelam meam studium suum commisit*. That goes beyond the services expected of a play-actor, but fits well with the part undertaken by a manager.

But Ambivius was more than this. He had an important influence on the Roman drama itself, on contemporary literature. If we may believe the matter of the prologues, both Caecilius and Terence may well have failed to gain a hearing from the Roman stage, had not Ambivius come to their rescue. To quote from the second prologue to the *Hecyra*: "Caecilius, now a great favorite, very often failed at first and not a few of his plays were rescued by me from popular dislike and have now become favorites. And so I encouraged the poet to write new plays, whereas otherwise he would have been disheartened at the opposition which he met with. And if this holds good in the case of Caecilius, I ought to gain your attention for the *Hecyra*, which has met with an unfavorable reception. The play has been unfortunate. On one occasion the tight rope dancer, on another the gladiator drew away the audience. Now there is no distraction of the kind and you can attend to the play at your leisure. I appeal to you further not to allow a monopoly of the dramatic art by rejecting my poet and accepting the plays of his opponents. Allow me to enjoy the privileges that I had as a younger man when I saved plays that had been hissed off the stage."¹⁹

Again in the prologue to the *Hauton Timorumenos*, Ambivius is supposedly the speaker. And why? "I will first," he says, "account for my having been chosen to speak the prologue instead of a younger actor, and then I shall account for my appearance as an actor. Terence has wished me to act as an advocate, *orator*, not to speak a prologue. The decision he has placed in your hands; he has made me his pleader: and yet in the matter of eloquence I shall

¹⁹ This paraphrase is, in general, that of Maclean.

be able to plead only as well as he has devised my brief." Here is Ambivius pleading for the support of a Roman audience in behalf of two of the greatest literary geniuses that Rome produced. He may possibly in his earlier days have been a composer as well as exhibitor.²⁰ Be that as it may, he had at least an influence on the literature from the pen of his literary friends. His close association with Terence would bring him into that choice literary clique, the circle of Scipio and Laelius: and he was no doubt admitted to the literary discussions of that ancient "coffee house club."

We have assumed that Ambivius is the prologuist in the *Hecyra* and *Hauton Timorumenos*. The presence of his name in the *didascaliae* as chief actor or *dominus gregis* would lead to that supposition, independently of the testimony of Eugraphius. It is quite likely that it was from this source that Eugraphius drew his statement. The date, however, of the popularity of Ambivius, as told of in the *Cato Maior*, only approximately, if that, agrees with the prologuist's popularity in Terence's plays. The dramatic date of the *Cato Maior*, in which Cicero bespeaks the success of Ambivius, is 150. The *Hauton Timorumenos* and the *Hecyra* were, according to the evidence of the *didascaliae* and of Donatus, presented in 163 and 160. The prologuist more than once speaks of himself as an old man, unable to meet the demands of a noisy uproarious audience: while Cato speaks of Ambivius as at the height of his powers and popularity thirteen to fifteen years later.

Again the prologuist, whoever he was, was evidently the connecting link between Caecilius and Terence. Now Caecilius died in 168 and Ambivius would be a very old man indeed in 150, rather than of the age indicated in the *Cato Maior*.

A legend has come down to us that points to the skill of Ambivius in interpreting the character that he impersonated. On one occasion at a rehearsal of the *Phormio*, Terence was much disgusted to find Ambivius seemingly intoxicated. Terence called the actor to account, but was met with the reply that he was only acting the part of Phormio according to his interpretation of the part. The writer immediately recognized the correctness of Ambivius's view of the character of Phormio; that he had really meant the parasite to be a drunkard.

The words that Terence puts in the mouth of Ambivius in the

²⁰ Ashmore so states, without authority, however.

prologues (if, indeed, Ambivius did not write the prologues himself), indicate the high degree of perfection attained by the Roman actor. The demands on Ambivius were most exacting. In fact wherever actors are referred to, it is generally in terms that go to show that they must have been required to possess all the accomplishments of an operatic singer. Quality and volume of voice, along with grace and accuracy of enunciation, seem to determine the actor's relative position. He had to be trained in the lyrical as well as the dialogue parts, though the strictly lyrical parts were not always sung by the actor himself.

If the play did not please, the spectators did not hesitate to express their disapproval. Cat-calls and hisses were common even in the days of Plautus and Terence. Under the empire, the *claque*, a paid body of applauders introduced during the republic, shouted the praises of their pay-masters and hissed the utterances of rival actors.²¹ Horace compares the noise and disturbance of the theatre to the roar of the sea or the storm raging through a mountain forest.²² The importance attached to acting far outran that attached to the Greek performance. Especially in later days, the attention to dress, movement, enunciation, made the actor of more importance than the play itself. The *mise en scène* was the thing. Horace says the audience came to see the fringe on the embroidered robe. The acting of an Ambivius or of a Roscius far outdid the greatest efforts of the greatest Greek comedian. Says Cicero: "Everything is done by the stage player unexceptionally well: everything with the utmost grace: everything in such a way as is becoming and moves and delights all."²³

ATILIUS

The name of L. Atilius Praenestinus is joined to that of Ambivius in all the *didascaliae* of Terence's plays except in that of the *Hecyra* (and in the codex A, the *Hauton Timorumenos*). Dziatzko²⁴ in his discussion of the *didascaliae* concludes that the mention of the two names, Ambivius and Atilius, indicate different performances. The establishment of the fact that Ambivius was a *dominus*

²¹ Petronius, *Sat.*, c. 5; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 16; Festus, p. 86; Epict. III, 4.

²² *Ep.*, II, 1, 202.

²³ *De Orat.*, I, 28.

²⁴ *Rhein. Mus.*, 20, 572; 21, 64.

gregis of recognized ability would indicate that Atilius was also a manager and *editor*, i. e., brought out plays under the direction of the curule aediles.

Atilius probably belongs to a later time than Ambivius. Ashmore, therefore, rejects (or at least parenthesizes) his name in all the *didascaliae* except that of the *Adelphoe*. The grouping of the names of the two managers, it is suggested, may be due to carelessness or accident. There is a possibility that this is the same Atilius who wrote *palliatae*, for the poet's nomen, praenomen and cognomen are identical with those of the actor. The testimony of Livy that it was in the earlier days of the Roman drama only that playwrights appeared in their plays, a testimony repeated by Euanthius²⁵ argues against the identity of the actor and the poet. Dziatzko answers the question negatively.²⁶ If they be the same, Cicero's antagonism to actors in general may explain his criticism of the poet as *poeta durissimus*,²⁷ for Varro speaks in praise of the poet: *Atilius, Caecilius, facile moverunt*.²⁸ He translated the *Electra* of Sophocles.²⁹ Maclean dismisses the player Atilius with the remark that of him we know nothing except that he was a manager and actor.

MINUCIUS. CINCIUS

Minucius Prothymus and Cincius Faliscus are mentioned by Donatus as the first actors to wear masks on the Roman stages, the former in tragedy, the latter in comedy: *personati primi egisse dictuntur comoediam Cincius Faliscus, tragoediam Minucius Prothymus*.³⁰ Prothymus was *dominus gregis* in a presentation of the *Adelphoe*.³¹ The appearance of the two names Atilius and Prothymus in the *didascaliae*, leads Dziatzko to argue that only Atilius gave the presentation in 160, while Minucius brought out the *Adelphoe* at a later date.³² This date for Minucius's presentation of the *Eunuchus*³³ Ribbeck puts as late as 146.³⁴

²⁵ *De Fabula*, iv, 3.

²⁶ *Ad Att.*, 14, 20, 3.

²⁷ *Cic. Fin.* 1, 5; *Suet., Jul.*, 64.

²⁸ *Didasc. to Adelp.*

²⁹ *Vid. Donat. praef. Eunuchus*, 6.

³⁰ *Rom. Trag. der Rep.*, p. 660 f.: Er brachte in nachterenzischer Zeit als *dominus gregis* die *Adelphi* und den *Eunuchus* zur Aufführung, letzteren wohl erst nach dem Jahre 608. Man wird ihn am wahrscheinlichsten der

³¹ *Rhein Mus.*, 21, 72.

³² *Ap. Charis., G. L.*, 1, 241.

³³ *De Com.*, p. 28, vol. 1, Wesener.

³⁴ *Rhein. Mus.*, xx, 578.

RUPILIUS

An actor of tragedy is mentioned by Cicero by the name of Rupilius. Cicero states that he always acted the *Antiope* (of Accius or of Pacuvius), while Aesopus often took the part of Ajax.⁸⁵ These parts, says Cicero, were best suited to their individual abilities. Rupilius belonged to the earlier days of Cicero: *Rupilius, quem memini*.⁸⁶ That he was an actor of high merit is indicated by Cicero's recommendation to the orator to imitate this performer in wisely choosing a rôle that he could present with success. Cicero's mention of him, too, in connection with the well-known actor of tragedy, Aesopus, points to Rupilius's merit. No further mention seems to be made of him.

STATILIUS

A teacher and trainer of actors by the name of Statilius is also noticed by Cicero. He is ranked as of less ability and renown than the great Roscius: "If the slave-actor Panurgus," says Cicero, "had come from Statilius, even if he had surpassed Roscius himself in skill, no one would have been able to see it."⁸⁷

ROSCIUS

As Ambivius was the acme of success in the early republic, so in the Ciceronian period was Roscius, one of the most famous actors of all time. His full name was Quintus Roscius Gallus. We have no data for definitely arriving at the year of his birth. We may, however, fix the approximate date. The earliest reference to him is in the year 91 B. C., the dramatic date of the *De Oratore*; and he was by this time a trainer of young actors: "I have," observes Crassus, "often heard Roscius say that he had never yet been able to find a pupil of whom he entirely approved."⁸⁸ More than that,

Periode des Accius zuweisen. . . . Wenn nun Diomedes (p. 489 K), oder vielmehr Sueton, welcher wiederum Varro's Schriften benutzte, als denjenigen, welcher sich zuerst der Masken dediente, Roscius namhaft macht, so mag Minucius Prothymus derjenige Director gewesen sein, unter welchem Roscius, sei es nach eigenem Wunsch sei es nach Anordnung des Herrn als des actor, zuerst maskirt auftrat.

⁸⁵ *De Off.*, I, 114.

⁸⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁸⁷ *Rosc. Com.*, x.

⁸⁸ *De Orat.*, I, 28, 129.

in the year 91 Roscius was getting well along in years: *solet idem Roscius dicere se, quo plus aetatis accederet, eo tardiores tibicinis modos et cantus remissiores esse facturum.*³⁹ Yet Roscius did not die till about thirty years after this time; for Cicero, in the *Archias*, remarks on his recent death: *quis nostrum tam agresti animo et duro fuit ut Rosci morte nuper non commoveretur? qui cum esset senex mortuus, tamen propter excellentem artem ac venustatem videbatur omnino mori non debuisse.*"⁴⁰ The date for the *Archias* is commonly put at the year 62.⁴¹

Wilkins⁴² suggests that Cicero, writing the *De Oratore* in the year 55, may be guilty of an anachronism in representing Roscius speaking of his advancing years in 91. The *De Oratore* is, however, quite replete with references to the actor, all pointing to the conclusion that he had passed the climax of his reputation. "He has, accordingly, long ago (*iam pridem*) attained such distinction that in whatever pursuit a man excels, he is called a Roscius in his profession."⁴³ Furthermore we are asked to believe that it was only the old men of the year 91 who could remember the time when Roscius did not wear masks: *quo melius nostri illi senes qui personatum ne Roscius quidem magne opere laudebant.*"⁴⁴ This assumption of a mask Wilkins conjectures to have been twenty or twenty-five years previous to 91.⁴⁵

The defence of Roscius by Cicero against Fannius Chaerea in the year 76⁴⁶ represents Roscius as practically retired from the profession of actor, although still engaged in training actors. He had made his fortune, and whatever gain he might further have acquired he declined and gave the public the benefit of his talents without remuneration.⁴⁷ The period elapsing between this retirement and the year 76, would seem to be ten years; that is, he withdrew from the chief activities of the actor's profession in the year 86: *decem his annis proximis H-S sexagies honestissime consequi potuit: noluit. Laborem quaestus recepit, quaestum laboris reiecit.*" *Populo Romano adhuc servire non destituit; sibi iam pridem desti-*

³⁹ *De Orat.*, I, 60, 254. The same remark is attributed to Roscius also in *De Leg.*, I, 4.

⁴⁰ *Pro Arch.*, 8.

⁴¹ Von Minckwintz, introd., p. 33; Sihler, *M. T. Cic. of Arpin.*, p. 176.

⁴² *De Orat.*, ad loc.

⁴³ *De Orat.*, I, 28, 130.

⁴⁴ *De Orat.*, III, 59, 221.

⁴⁵ Wilk., ad loc.

⁴⁶ Sihler, *Cic. of Arpin.*, p. 60.

⁴⁷ *Cic. pro Rosc. Com.*, 8.

tuit."⁴⁸ It would seem that this "*decem his annis proximis*" indicates the period of time that had elapsed since Roscius had withdrawn from the stage, though the statement is that it was ten years since he had profited by his abilities. He doubtless continued to appear in performances, but these would be at longer intervals; his chief activities were henceforth in the training of younger actors.

It would be fair to assume that Roscius had acquired a fortune ample enough to satisfy all his future needs not before he was forty-five years of age. Such an assumption would make him 55 years of age in 76 and set the date of his birth a little earlier than 130 B. C. He would also be anticipating the approach of old age in the *De Oratore*, 91 B. C., when he was forty years of age, an age rather young even for an Italian. The date of his death in 62 would make him about seventy when he died.

The cognomen of Gallus may indicate that Roscius was, like others of his profession, not a native of Rome, but was born north of the Po. He passed his boyhood, however, and was educated in the neighborhood of Lanuvium: *Amores ac deliciae tuae, Roscius, num aut ipse aut pro eo Lanuvium totum mentiebatur? Qui cum in cunabulis educareturque in Solonio, qui est campus agri Lanuvini*⁴⁹ Cicero makes his brother Quintus say; and then relates the story of the prophesy that no man would attain to greater renown than the young Roscius. According to this tale, the child's nurse found the boy one night enveloped in the folds of a serpent's coils. The child's father consulted the auspices concerning the meaning of the prodigy and was informed that the boy would reach the greatest distinction. Cicero takes occasion to say that some credence is to be put in the tale: *De ipso Roscio potest illud quidem esse falsum ut circumligatus fuerit angui, sed ut in cunis fuerit anguis non est mirum, in Solonio praesertim, ubi ad focum angues nundinari solent.*⁵⁰ This tale a Praxiteles represented in silver and Archias in verse.⁵¹

That Roscius was born a slave receives some credence from the statement of Pliny the Elder, who, in speaking of the high price paid for the grammarian Daphnis, mentions the wealth of actors who purchased their freedom and particularly of Roscius: *Pretium*

⁴⁸ *Pro Rosc. Com.*, 8, 23.

⁴⁹ *Cic. De Div.*, II, 66.

⁵⁰ *Cic. De Div.*, I, 79.

⁵¹ *Cic. De Div.*, I, 79.

*hominis in servitio geniti maximum ad hanc diem, quod equidem compererim, fuit grammaticae artis, Daphnin Attio Pisaurense vedente et M. Scauro principe civitatis III DCC licente. excessere hoc in nostro aevo, nec modice, histriones, sed hi libertatem suam mercati, quippe cum iam apud maiores Roscius histrio III D annua meritasse prodatur.*⁵²

We may suppose that Roscius came to Rome when a young man, but there is no account preserved of the means by which he climbed to the height of popularity that he enjoyed at the hands of the Roman public. According to Macrobius he was a great favorite of the dictator Sulla: *Is est Roscius qui etiam L. Sullae carissimus fuit, et anulo aureo ab eodem dictatore donatus est.*⁵³ This gift of a golden ring, the symbol of the equestrian rank, has led to the supposition that Roscius was raised to that rank by Sulla. The patronage of the great dictator doubtless advanced the cause of Roscius, for the two were of the same age; and probably Roscius absorbed much of the learning of the precocious Sulla. This friendship with men of influence at Rome is mentioned by Valerius Maximus: *nec vulgi tantum favorem, verum etiam principum familiaritates amplexus est.*⁵⁴

Roscius's intimacy with Cicero is abundantly testified to in the writings of the orator. It was at the earnest request of Roscius that Cicero undertook his first public defence. This was the case for P. Quintius, who had married the sister of Roscius: *dicebam huic Q. Roscio, cuius soror est cum P. Quintio, cum a me peteret, et summe contenderet ut suum propinquum defenderem; mihi perdifficile esse contra tales oratores non modo tantam causam perorare, sed omnino verbum facere conari. Cum cupidius instaret homini pro amicitia familiaris dixi.*⁵⁵

The most illuminating information on Roscius is to be found in Cicero's speech, or rather the re-edited speech, in defence of the actor himself against C. Fannius Chaerea. This case may be succinctly stated. A slave, Panurgus by name, had been sent to Roscius by the prosecutor in the case, Fannius Chaerea, for the purpose of having him trained as an actor. The understanding was that the profit anticipated from the art of the slave was to be equally divided between the master, Chaerea, and the teacher,

⁵² N. H., VII, 39.

⁵⁴ VIII, 7.

⁵³ Sat., III, XIV; 13.

⁵⁵ Pro P. Quintio, 24, 77.

Roscius. But a certain Flavius had killed Panurgus. Flavius was deceased at the time of the trial. In settling his civil obligation (there was no other) the slayer had satisfied the claim of Roscius with a farm or piece of land, valued at 100,000 sesterces. The actor is now sued to make settlement with his partner, to cede to him some share of the land which now has risen considerably in value. Cicero's contention is that Roscius fifteen years before settled for himself alone with the slayer of the actor-slave, and is not legally bound to share his indemnity with the original owner of the slave. It is a delicate point of law and equity. At the same time it is quite palpable that Roscius had contributed vastly more to the ultimate professional value of the slain Panurgus than was the market value of the bondsman before the brilliant actor took him in hand. Moreover, Fannius had also previously sued for his share and had been awarded a like 100,000 sesterces. This fact Fannius had concealed when he brought the suit against Roscius.⁵⁶

This defense of Roscius furnishes no small amount of material from which to form an estimate of him as a man, an actor, and a teacher of his art. He was of the most upright character, pure, modest, humane, generous. As Macrobius puts it: *ceterum histriones non inter turpes habitos Cicero testimonio est.*⁵⁷ The testimony is, to be sure, that of an advocate pleading for his client, and the case may be illustrative of the adroitness and nimbleness of intellect of the pleader, rather than an unbiased picture of the client. The sketch of Chaerea, of course, draws a character the very antithesis of Roscius, illustrative of Cicero's fondness for making his audience laugh at the discomfiture of his opponents at the bar: "Do not the very pate and eyebrows of Chaerea closely shaven seem to be redolent of meanness and proclaim his cunning? Does he not from the very nails of his toes to the crown of his head, if the speechless physical person affords an inference to men, seem to consist wholly of cheating, of tricks, of lies; who has his head and eyebrows always shaven for this reason, that he might not be said to own as much as a hair of a good man?"⁵⁸ We must only trust that the portrait of Roscius here drawn does not resort to a lawyer's unscrupulous device. "Let us consider," says Cicero, "who it is who has defrauded his partner":

⁵⁶ Sihler, *Cic. of Arpinum*, p. 61.

⁵⁷ *Sat.*, III, XIV, 11.

⁵⁸ Sihler, *id.*, p. 61.

dabit enim nobis iam tacite vita acta in alterutram partem firmum et grave testimonium. Q. Roscius? Quid ais? Nonne, ut ignis in aequam coniectus continuo restinguitur et refrigerentur, sic referens falsum crimen in purissimam et castissimam vitam collatam statim concidit et extinguitur? Roscius socium fraudavit? Potest hoc homini huic haerere peccatum? qui medius fidius (audacter dico), plus fidei quam artis, plus veritatis quam disciplinae, possidet in se; quem populus Romanus meliorem virum quam histrionem esse arbitratur; qui ita dignissimus est scaena propter artificium, ut dignissimus sit curia propter abstinentioniam. Sed quid ego ineptus de Roscio apud Pisonem (the presiding judge) dico? ignotum hominem scilicet pluribus verbis commendo? Estne quisquam omnium mortalium de quo melius existimes tu? estne quisquam qui tibi purior, prudentior, humanior, officinosior, liberaliorque videatur?"

Roscius's perfection in the actor's art seems to have been especially remarkable in his grace and attractive bearing. Here is a point of contrast with the actor's art in Ambivius where the emphasis is on volume and quality of voice. In the *De Oratore* especially is polish and decorum ascribed to Roscius. "The gesture and grace of a Roscius" says Crassus.⁶⁰ "Everything with the utmost grace."⁶¹ "Roscius says the most essential thing is to be becoming."⁶² "Who can make the least gesture without Roscius seeing his imperfection?"⁶³ "No gesture except what he has practised at home."⁶⁴

"Etenim, cum artifex eiusmodi sit, ut solus dignus videatur esse qui in scaena spectetur."⁶⁵

"Itaque ut ad hanc similitudinem huius histrionis oratoriam laudem derigamus, videtisne quam nihil ab eo nisi perfecte, nihil nisi cum summa venustate fiat, nisi ita ut deceat et uti omnis moveat atque delectet? Itaque hoc iam diu est consecutus ut in quoquisque artificio excelleret in suo genere Roscius diceretur."⁶⁶

"Sed etiam illi Roscio, quem audio dicere caput esse artis decere, quod tamen unum id esse, quod tradi arte non possit."⁶⁷

"Quis neget opus esse oratori in hoc oratorio motu statuque Rosci gestum et venustatem?"⁶⁸

"Voluisti enim in suo genere unum quemque nostrum quasi quendam Roscium."⁶⁹

⁶⁰ *Pro Rosc.*, 6, 17-18.

⁶¹ *De Orat.*, I, 28.

⁶² *De Orat.*, II, 57.

⁶³ *Pro Quinto*, 25.

⁶⁴ *De Orat.*, I, 132. Cf. Quintil., *Inst.*, XI, 3, 177.

⁶⁵ *De Orat.*, I, 251.

⁶⁶ *De Orat.*, I, 258.

⁶⁷ *De Orat.*, I, 59.

⁶⁸ *De Orat.*, 29.

⁶⁹ Val. Max., VIII, 7.

⁷⁰ *De Orat.*, I, 130.

"*Quamquam soleo saepe mirari eorum impudentiam qui agunt in scaena gestum spectante Roscio; quis enim sese comovere potest, cuius ille vitia non videat?*" says Cæsar in the *De Oratore*,⁷⁰ and wittily adds that he is minded to quote Catulus, who in speaking of the oratory of Crassus said that in comparison with his oratory, "other orators ought to be fed on hay."

Valerius Maximus, as well as Cicero, lays stress on the diligence and painstaking care exercised by Roscius in perfecting his art:

Ne Roscius quidem subtrahatur, scenicae industriae notissimum exemplum, qui nullum umquam spectante populo gestum nisi quem domi meditatatus fuerat promere ausus est. Quapropter non ludicram artem commendavit nec vulgi tantum favorem verum etiam principum familiaritates amplexus. Haec sunt attentī et anxii et numquam cessantis studii praemia, propter quae vivorum laudibus non impudenter se persona histronibus inseruit.⁷¹

Of the characters represented on the stage by Roscius we know of only some four or five: that of the *leno* Ballio,⁷² the young man Antipho,⁷³ the part of a young man in the *Demiurgus* of Turpilius,⁷⁴ characters so familiar in the plays of Plautus and Terence. He evidently also performed in a play, or plays, by Atta, the writer of *togatae*: Horace professes to hesitate to criticize that playwright for fear of calling down on himself the displeasure of the older men (possibly the senators), who had seen the '*doctus Roscius*' and the '*gravis Aesopus*' act the plays of Atta:

Recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Attae
Fabula si dubitem, clament periisse pudorem
Cuncti paene patres, ea cum reprehendere coner
Quae gravis Aesopus, quae doctus Roscius egit.⁷⁵

He appears to have played also the part of Agamemnon in the *Telephus* of Ennius,⁷⁶ for while his chief rôles were from comedy he acted also in tragedy.⁷⁷ Diomedes indicates that his chief rôle was in the personation of the parasite.⁷⁸ Quintilian speaks of him as only a comedian: *plus autem affectus habent lentiora; ideoque Roscius citatior, Aesopus gravior fuit, quod ille comoedias hic tragoedias egit.*⁷⁹

⁷⁰ II, 233.

⁷¹ *Pro Rosc.*, 7.

⁷² *Cic. Ep. ad L. Papirius Paetus*.

⁷³ *Inc. fab.*, XVII, p. 108. Ribb.

⁷⁴ P. 489, 11 K.

⁷⁵ Val. Max., VIII, 7.

⁷⁶ *De Orat.*, II, 242.

⁷⁷ Hor. *Epp.*, II, 1, 79-82.

⁷⁸ *Cic. Or.*, 31, 109.

⁷⁹ *Inst.*, XI, 3, 111.

PANURGUS. EROS

In his later years Roscius was especially successful as a trainer of actors. Cicero mentions two who were thus made proficient enough to gain popularity in the Roman theater, Panurgus and Eros. "How much did Panurgus owe to Roscius? His education. His person was of no value; his skill was valuable. As far as he belonged to Fannius, he was not worth fifty thousand sesterces; as far as he belonged to Roscius, he was worth more than a hundred thousand. For no one looked at him because of his person; but people estimated him by his skill as an actor. For those limbs could not earn by themselves more than twelve sesterces; owing to the education given him by Roscius, he let himself out for not less than a hundred thousand. . . . Why was such zeal for him? Such partiality to him? Because he was the pupil of Roscius. They who loved the one favored the other; they who admired the one approved the other; in short, all who heard the name of the one thought the other well trained and accomplished. . . . Very few observed what he knew, every one asked where he had been taught; they thought that nothing bad or poor could be produced by him. If he had come from Statilius, even if he had surpassed Roscius himself in skill, no one would have been able to see it. . . . Because he came from Roscius he seemed to know more than he really did know.

"And this lately did happen in the case of Eros the comedian, for he, after he was driven from the stage, not merely by hisses but even by reproaches, took refuge, as at an altar, in the house and instruction and patronage of Roscius. Therefore, he who had been not even one of the lowest class of actors, came to be reckoned among the very first comedians. Who was it that raised him? This man's recommendation alone; who not only took this Panurgus home that he might have the name of a pupil of Roscius, but who also instructed him with the greatest pains and energy and patient. For the more skillful and ingenious anyone is, the more vehement and laborious is he in teaching his art; for that which he himself caught quickly, he is tortured by seeing slowly comprehended by another."⁸⁰

⁸⁰ *Pro Rosc.*, transl. C. D. Young.

The success attained by these pupils of Roscius proves the high degree of perfection in Roscius's art, though his pupils could hardly reproduce his mellow voice, his ease of manner, the beauty of his person, his accuracy of expression and accent, which were the delight of the Roman audience.

It is said that Roscius gained much of his grace of gesture by frequenting the forum and adapting to the stage the arts of forensic discourse: Valerius Maximus states that Roscius and Aesopus were in the habit of attending the oratorical exhibitions especially of Hortensius, of whom these actors seem to have been friends: *Q. autem Hortensius plurimum in corporis decore motu repositum credens paene plus studii in elaborando quam in ipsa eloquentia adfectanda impendit. . . . constat Aesopum Rosciumque ludicrae artis peritissimos illo causas agente in corona frequenter adstitisse, ut foro peritos gestus in scaenam referrent.*"⁸¹ Macrobius relates how Cicero was accustomed to discuss with Roscius the comparative merits of eloquence and the art of the stage: *certe constat satis contendere eum (Ciceronem) ipso histrione solitum, utrum ille saepius eandem sententiam gestibus efficeret an ipse per eloquentiae copiam sermone diuerso pronuntiaret.*"⁸² If we are to believe Macrobius, Roscius made some ventures also in literature: "*quae res ad hanc artis suae fiduciam Roscium obstraxit, ut librum conscriberet, quo eloquentiam cum histrionia comparet.*"⁸³

According to Plutarch, Roscius was a teacher of Cicero, though Middleton, arguing from *De Orat.* I, 59, III, 56, 59, *Tusc. Disp.* IV, 25, thinks that Cicero would have disdained such instruction, however much he esteemed Roscius personally.⁸⁴

The generosity in financial reward accorded to Roscius by the Roman people is testified to by Cicero: "Was Roscius in need of money? No, he was even a rich man. Was he in debt? On the contrary he was living within his income. Was he avaricious? Far from it; even before he was a rich man he was always most liberal and munificent. . . . He who once refused a gain of 300,000 sesterces—for he certainly both could and would have earned 300,000 sesterces if Dionysia can earn 200,000—did he seek to acquire 50,000 by the greatest dishonesty? . . . In these last ten

⁸¹ III, x, 2.⁸² III, XIV, 12.⁸³ *Loc. cit.*⁸⁴ *Vid.* Langhorne's Plutarch, Vol. 5, p. 298 n.

years he might have earned 6,000,000 sesterces most honorably."⁸⁵ Macrobius states that he personally, in addition to the pay of his company, received a thousand denarii per day: *Tanta autem fuit gratia et gloria ut mercedem diurnam de publico mille denarios sine gregalibus solus acceperit.*⁸⁶ According to Pliny his yearly income was about \$20,000.⁸⁷

The notice of Cicero to the effect that Roscius was afflicted with a cross of the eyes, *perversissimis oculis*,⁸⁸ has led Diomedes⁸⁹ to claim that it was Roscius who first introduced masks on the Roman stage: *antea gelearibus, non personis, utebantur, ut qualitas coloris indicium faceret aetatis, cum essent aut albi aut nigri aut rufi; personis vero uti primus coepit Roscius Gallus, praecipuus histrio, quod oculis perversis erat, nec satis decorus sine personis nisi parastitus pronuntiabat.*⁹⁰ This is quite in contradiction to other evidence on Roscius's appearance. Cicero says: "All depends on the face and all the power of the face is centered in the eyes. Of this our old men are the best judges for they were not lavish of their praise of even Roscius in a mask." Roscius, in fact, was renowned for his beauty, especially when a boy; an epigram on his charm of person written by Lutatius Catulus is quoted by Aulus Gellius and also by Cicero:

Constitueram, exorientem Auroram forte salutans
Cum subito e larva Roscius exoritur.
Pace mihi liceat dicere vestra
Mortalis visus pulchrior esse deo.⁹¹

The rising dawn, the goddess Morn,
I had risen to adore,
When on the left Great Roscius rose;
Can rival him no goddess pose;
I hope I speak not blasphemy.

AESOPUS

The foremost actor of tragedy that Rome produced was Aesopus. Cicero's appellation, *summus artifex*, is the highest possible praise.⁹² His surname of Claudius is taken to indicate that he was a freed-

⁸⁵ *Pro Rosc.*, 8.

⁸⁶ *N. H.*, vii, 39.

⁸⁷ *Gr. Lat.*, i, 489.

⁸⁸ *Aul. Gel.*, xix, 9, 14.

⁸⁹ iii, xiv, 13.

⁹⁰ *De Nat. Deorum*, i, 28, fin.

⁹¹ *Vid. Ribb. Rom. Trag.*, i, p. 671.

⁹² *Pro Sest.*, 56, 120.

man of the Claudian family. Ribbeck adds that he was a Greek by original birth.⁹³ He was an older man than Cicero, but younger than Roscius. Cicero writing in 55 B. C.,⁹⁴ shortly after the occasion of the dedication of Pompey's theater, speaks of Aesopus as an old man.⁹⁵ Writing to M. Marius he says: "The games were most elaborate, but not such as you would have stomached; for in the first place, out of respect for Pompey those came back to the stage which they had left out of respect for themselves. But your delight, our friend Aesopus, was in such a state that he was permitted by all men to leave off. When he had begun to take the oath, his voice failed in that very passage '*si sciens fallo*'."⁹⁶ Aesopus had evidently retired from the stage before this occasion of the dedication of Pompey's theater; and on this his return he was not able to perform his part. This evidently was his last appearance, and we may put his death at about 54 B. C. Roscius had died at an advanced age eight years before, while Cicero was only 52 years of age at the time of the incident described. "But," adds Cicero, "if I had the people as easily as Aesopus had, I should gladly retire from my profession and live with you and those like you."⁹⁷

His chief field was tragedy: *maxime tamen insignis est in hac memoria Clodii Aesopi, tragici histrionis*.⁹⁸ Quintilian remarks on tragedy being his special field: *Roscius citatior, Aesopus gravior fuit, quod ille comoedias, hic tragoedias egit*.⁹⁹ It seems, however, that Aesopus also ventured into comedy; Cicero remarks that the great actors of his day did not confine themselves to one department: *et comoedum in tragoediis et tragoedum in comoediis admodum placere vidimus*.¹⁰⁰ This must refer primarily to Roscius and Aesopus. Horace seems to imply that Aesopus acted in the comedies of Atta: "If I should criticize a play of Atta's which the 'grave' Aesopus and the 'learned' Roscius used to act."¹⁰¹ However, the adjective *gravis* would hardly bear that out, and doubtless the mention of Atta's plays is intended to apply to drama in general.¹⁰²

⁹³ *Rom. Trag.*, I, p. 674.

⁹⁴ *Ad Fam.*, 7, 1.

⁹⁵ *Vid. Tyrrell, Cic. Letters. CXXVII.*

⁹⁶ *Cic. loc. cit.*

⁹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁹⁸ Pliny, *N. H.*, x, 141; ix, 122.

⁹⁹ xi, 111.

¹⁰⁰ *Or.*, 31, 109.

¹⁰¹ *Epp.*, II, 1, 82.

¹⁰² *Vid. Wickham, ad loc. cit.*

The vigor with which Aesopus acted may be gathered from an incident related by Plutarch, who tells that the tragedian while acting the part of Atreus, just while planning vengeance, struck a slave who approached so violent a blow with his sword, that the slave fell dead.¹⁰³ Cicero, too, who notes more than once how actors took their parts seriously, says that he had seen Aesopus on one occasion gesticulating so excitedly and looking so wild, that he seemed to have lost all control of himself.¹⁰⁴ Cicero, rather oddly, here makes Quintus compare this delivery of the actor with his own.

Yet the later tradition of Aesopus' acting is rather that he was serious and self-contained: *gravis* is the verdict of the *patres* in Horace, as it is also of Quintilian. And Cicero, after admiring the ability of Roscius to maintain a reserve force, says: "And that other actor, how does he utter his lines? How gently, how sedately, how calmly."¹⁰⁵

Aesopus possessed a strong but well modulated voice: *vox eius illa praeclara*.¹⁰⁶ "If there is the least harshness in his voice Aesopus is hissed; for at those from whom nothing is expected but to please the ear, offense is taken whenever the least diminution of that pleasure occurs."¹⁰⁷

Like Garrick, Aesopus seems to have been capable of assuming a great variety of moods and parts: "With what groaning and weeping did he elicit tears from even his enemies and those who were jealous of him."¹⁰⁸ He acted the part of Eurypylus probably in Ennius' *Hectoris Lutra*;¹⁰⁹ in the *Atreus of Accius*;¹¹⁰ in the rôle of Teucer in Accius' *Eurysaces*;¹¹¹ in the *Iphigenia* of Ennius, the part of Agamemnon or of Menelaus.¹¹² Cicero states that he did not often act the part of Ajax (of Ennius or Andronicus).¹¹³

Aesopus died a very wealthy man. The son, Claudius Aesopus, heir to his wealth, is proverbially an extravagant and luxurious liver. He squandered in luxurious living the fortune of 20,000,000

¹⁰³ Cic. 5.

¹⁰⁵ De Orat., III, 26.

¹⁰⁷ Cic. De Orat., I, 61.

¹⁰⁹ Cic. Tusc. Disp., 2, 39.

¹¹¹ Cic. Pro Sest., 55, 117 f.

¹¹² Inc. fab., XXVIII; Ribb., p. 675, n. 165.

¹¹³ De Off., 1, 31.

¹⁰⁴ De Div., 1, 37.

¹⁰⁶ Pro Sest., 58, 123.

¹⁰⁸ Cic. Pro Sest., 57, 121.

¹¹⁰ Plut. Cic., 5.

sesterces left by his father.¹¹⁴ If Pliny be correct in his statement, the actor was no less extravagant than his spendthrift heir. The tragedian on one occasion serves a dish of singing and talking birds, *cantu aliquo aut humano sermone vocales*, each of which cost 6000 sesterces, and the whole dish 100,000. Pliny then remarks that he was worthy of the son who melted the pearl and drank it.¹¹⁵ This bit of folly Valerius Maximus assigns to the son.¹¹⁶

SPINTHER. PAMPHILUS

As actors in *partes secundas et tertias*,¹¹⁷ two actors, Spinter and Pamphilus are mentioned by Valerius Maximus. Spinter acted in *partes secundas*, i. e., was deuteragonist; while Pamphilus acted in *partes tertias*, i. e., was tritagonist. Spinter was so like the consul P. Cornelius Lentulus in appearance that the consul, says Valerius, received the cognomen of Spinter from the actor. Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, the colleague of Cornelius in the consulship, was, strange to say, very like Pamphilus, and would have received the cognomen of Pamphilus, had he not already had that of Nepos. Valerius gives this note because of the remarkable coincidence of two actors of the same troupe appearing on the stage at the time when the two consuls whom they closely resembled were in office.¹¹⁸

The mention of the consuls shows Spinter and Pamphilus acting in the year 57.

SORIX

The archimime, that is the director of a troupe of mimes, Sorix, flourished in the days of Sulla, of whom he was a friend.¹¹⁹ He was a contemporary of the actor of comedy, Roscius, and in common with his great contemporary possibly owed his advancement to the directorship of his company to the power of Sulla. He was, as appears from an inscription, also an actor of *partes secundae*:

¹¹⁴ Plin. *N. H.*, IX, 122; Hor. *Sat.*, II, 2, 239.

¹¹⁵ *N. H.*, X, 141-142.

¹¹⁶ IX, 2. The translators of Friedländer's *Sittengesch.*, have again added to the confusion by confusing Pliny's statement with that of Maximus.

¹¹⁷ Suet., *Calig.*, 57.

¹¹⁸ *De Similitud. Form.*, IX, XIV, 4.

¹¹⁹ Plut., *Sulla*, 36.

*C. Norbani Soricis secundarum (sc. partium) Mag. pagi Aug. felicis suburbani.*¹²⁰ Dessau thinks the two may be the same, as *post mortem magistri pagi Augusti imagines eius posuerint* (Momms.), *aut discipulus.*¹²¹

DIPHILUS

Aesopus was the last of the great actors of tragedy of the Republic; and after him no extended notices of actors occur. Some are mentioned by Cicero, however. Diphilus acted in tragedy at the games of Apollo in the year 56 B. C. Writing to Atticus of the waning influence of Pompey, Cicero says: "The feeling of the people was shown most clearly. . . . At the games to Apollo the actor Diphilus made a pert allusion to Pompey in the words:

Nostra misera tu es—Magnus.

The actor was encored countless times. When he delivered the lines:

"The time will come when thou wilt deeply mourn
That self-same valour,"

the whole theatre broke into applause and so on with the rest."¹²²

The part here played by Diphilus, Ribbeck conjectures to be that of Prometheus in a play of Accius by that name, where the Titans harangue against the Tyrants of Olympus.¹²³ The same story of Diphilus is preserved by Valerius Maximus.¹²⁴

ANTIPHO

A tragic actor Antipho performed at the games of Apollo in the year 54. Cicero attended what was seemingly the initial appearance of Antipho on the 9th of July of that year. He approved neither the stature nor the voice of the actor, though the orator states that Antipho won the prize. He was acting a woman's part, the title rôle of the *Andromache* of Ennius: "I entered the theater," says Cicero. "At first I was greeted with loud and general applause. . . . Then I turned my attention to Antipho. He had been manumitted before being brought on the stage. Not to keep

¹²⁰ *Inscr. Lat.*, ed. Dessau, 5198 = *C. I. L.*, 10, 814.

¹²¹ *Loc. cit.*, n. 1.

¹²² *Rom. Trag.* I, p. 676-677.

¹²³ *Ad. Att.*, II, 19, 3.

¹²⁴ VI, 2, 9.

you in suspense, he bore away the palm. But never was anything so dwarfish, so destitute of voice, so—but keep this to yourself. However, in the *Andromache* he was just taller than the little boy Astyanax, who was the only smaller person on the stage; among the rest he had no one equal to his own in height, or as bad an actor.”¹²⁵

Antipho was apparently granted his freedom before he had proved his merit, a practice out of the common. It seems, therefore, that his master paid him this especial favor that he might win the public approval for his protégé: success was so certain, argued the master to the public, that freedom should be granted in advance of his appearance. Watson suggests that Antipho was possibly a freedman of Milo.¹²⁶

Cicero on this occasion, that is, of the games, was more favorably impressed with the performance of Arbuscula: “she had a great success”; *valde placuit*.¹²⁷

LABERIUS

The writer of mimes, Decimus Laberius, who with remarkable success attempted to give a literary importance to that form of popular farce, was also an actor. His appearance on the stage was, however, due to the compulsion of Julius Cæsar; and primarily Laberius was a writer rather than an actor.

The story of Laberius's appearance on the stage is told by Macrobius. Cæsar, wishing to humiliate the composer, for Laberius was a knight, invited him to act his own composition: *invitavit ut prodiret in scaenam et ipse ageret mimos quos scriptitabat*.¹²⁸ Laberius, recognizing that the invitation of the dictator was equal to a command, reluctantly complied. He, however, took his vengeance on Cæsar for thus wounding his pride by composing a prologue for his first production, in which he frankly exhibited his wounded feelings. Moreover, in the course of his acting he gave strong expression to his detestation of tyranny. While acting the part of a Syrian slave suffering under the lash, he cried: *porro Quirites, libertatem perdimus*; and then added: *necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent*.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ *Ad. Att.*, IV, 15, 6.

¹²⁶ *Ad. loc. cit.*

¹²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹²⁸ *Macr.* II, VII, 2.

¹²⁹ *Macr.* II, VII, 2. Macrobius preserves the whole prologue from Aul. Gell., VIII, 15.

The freedom of speech employed by Laberius put him in the disfavor of Cæsar, who therefore became a partisan of the actor Publius Syrus. Publius was a much younger man than Laberius, the latter being, at the time of his stage appearance, sixty years of age:

ego his tricentis annis actis sine nota
eques Romanus e Lare egressus meo
domum revertar mimus.¹²⁰

He was compelled by Cæsar to compete in acting with the younger actor. In the contest Laberius was defeated. He took his defeat with a good grace, and when his next new mime was composed, he inserted the lines:

Non possunt primi esse omnes in tempore.
Summum ad gradum cum claritatis veneris,
Consistes aegre et citius quam escendas cades:
cecidisti ego, cadet qui sequitur: laus est publica.¹²¹

Laberius did not long survive this second recorded appearance on the stage. He acted, it seems, in the year 45 B. C.: *ludis Decimus Laberius eques Romanus mimum suum egit*.¹²² He died in January of the year 43: *Laberius mimorum scriptor decimo mense post C. Caesaris interitum Putioli moritur*.¹²³ Cæsar had been generous enough to restore to him the rank of knight which he had lost by his acting, the gift of the golden ring so indicating: *unde Caesar adridens hoc modo pronuntiavit: 'favente tibi me victus es, Laberi, a Syro,' statimque Publilio palmam et Laberio anulum aureum cum quingentis sestertiis dedit*.¹²⁴

PUBLILIUS

Publius Syrus, in contrast with Decimus Laberius, was primarily an actor of plays rather than a writer. While forty-four titles of the poetic compositions of Laberius are preserved, only two of those of Publius are known. Teuffel points out that this is due to the fact that only stage-copies of his plays were ever in circulation. His compositions were largely improvisations.

¹²⁰ Lab., *Prol.*, v, 7 ff.

¹²¹ Macr., II, vii, 9.

¹²² Suet., *Iul.*, 39.

¹²³ Hier., *Eus. Chron.* 43 B. C. Cf. Suet., *Reliq.*, ed. Roth, p. 295.

¹²⁴ Macr., II, vii, 8.

He came from Syria: *Publilius mimographus natione Syrus Romae scaenam tenet*.¹³⁵ He was brought to Rome in company with two of his fellow countrymen, both of whom rose to some eminence, the astrologer Manlius Antiochus and the grammarian Eros Staberius: *Publilium lochium (Antiochum) mimicae scaenae conditorem, et astrologiae consobrinum eius Manlium Antiochum item grammaticae Staberium Erotem eadem nave advectos videre proavi*.¹³⁶ His witticisms which later won him such fame on the Roman stage also earned his manumission.¹³⁷ He began his career in the provincial towns: *manu missus et maiore cura eruditus, cum mimos componeret, ingentique adsensu in Italiae oppidis agere coepisset, productus Romae per Caesaris ludos*.¹³⁸ At Rome he challenged all comers to compete with him on the stage both as actor and as composer.¹³⁹ He won against all competitors. The contest with Decimus Laberius has been related under the sketch of that actor.

How such exalted sentiments as are expressed in the fragments of Publilius's mimes could be put in the mouths of characters acting in mere farce is as surprising as that they should be improvisations. Seneca remarks that many of his lines are more appropriate to the buskin than the slipper:

Publilius, tragicis comicisque vehementior ingeniis, quotiens mimicas ineptias et verba ad summam caveam spectantia reliquit, inter multa alia cothurno, non tantum sipario, fortiora et hoc ait. (Sen., *de tranq. an.*, 11, 8). quantum disertissimorum versuum inter mimos iacet; quam multa Publilii non excalceatis, sed cothurnatis dicenda sunt.¹⁴⁰

Publilius amassed great wealth, and lived in extravagant luxury. Pliny says that he never gave a dinner without providing sow's udder for his guest, an extravagance denied the palates of even the patricians.¹⁴¹

HERENNIUS

The only mention made of the actor Herennius Gallus represents him as acting in the provinces. The younger Balbus, nephew of Cicero's client Balbus, honored Herennius during the games at

¹³⁵ Suet., *Reliq.*, ed. Roth, p. 295.

¹³⁶ Pl., *N. H.*, 35, 199.

¹³⁷ Macrob., II, vii, 6.

¹³⁸ Macrob., *loc. cit.*

¹³⁹ *Loc. cit.* and Hoffman, *Rh. M.*, 39, 471.

¹⁴⁰ *Ep.*, 8, 8.

¹⁴¹ *N. H.*, viii, 51, 208.

Gades, in the year 43 B. C., by making him a Roman knight: *ludis, quos Gadibus fecit, Herennium Gallum histrionem, summo ludorum die anulo aureo donatum in XIV deduxit*: "led him to a seat in the fourteen rows, for he had arranged that number of rows for men of equestrian rank."¹⁴² This bestowal of the golden ring, says Cicero, Balbus did in imitation of Julius Cæsar. The reference is to Cæsar's action in giving the ring to D. Laberius after his degradation in mimic theatricals.¹⁴³

OFILIUS

Pliny mentions an actor of comedy by the name of M. Ofilius Hilarus. Teuffel assigns him to probably the seventh century of the Republic.¹⁴⁴ Pliny relates only the story of his death, handed down *ab antiquis*:

Operosissima tamen securitas mortis in M. Ofilio Hilario ab antiqua traditur. comoediarum histrio is, cum populo admodum placuisset natali die suo conviviumque haberet, edita cena calidam potionem in pultario poposcit simulque personam eius diei acceptam intuens coronam e capite suo in eam transtulit, tali habitu rigens nullo sentiente, donec accubantium proximus tepescere potionem admoneret.¹⁴⁵

FUFIVS. CATIENVS

Horace in his humorous vein satirizes two tragic actors of the names of Fufius and Catienus. They acted, it seems, in a play of Pacuvius, a tragedy called *Ilione*. Ilione, daughter of Priam and wife of Polymnestor, King of Thrace, had substituted her brother, Polydorus, for her son, Deiphilus, whom Polymnestor murdered supposing that it was Polydorus.¹⁴⁶ Horace represents Fufius and Catienus acting in a scene where the ghost of Deiphilus appears in his mother's bed-chamber, calling on her to give his body burial:

Mater, te appello quae curam somno suspensam levas,
Neque te mei miseret; surge et sepeli natum.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² Cic., *Ad Fam.*, x, 32, 2.

¹⁴³ The inscription *C. I. L.*, x, 4587 may refer to Herennius.

¹⁴⁴ Teuf., 16, 14.

¹⁴⁵ *N. H.*, vii, 186.

¹⁴⁶ *Of.* the plot of the *Hecuba* of Euripides.

¹⁴⁷ Preserved by Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, i, 44.

Horace represents Fufius acting the part of Ilione, asleep in the bed, while Catienus was the ghost Deiphilus. But when the ghost cried '*mater, te appello*,' Fufius failed to respond; for he was drunk and had actually fallen asleep in his bed; and, says Horace, 'if one thousand two hundred Catienuses had shouted in his ear he would not have heard them.' Fufius slept out his part instead of acting it: *Ilionem edormit*.¹⁴⁸ Nothing more is known of these actors, though Cicero refers to the passage in the play more than once, and the words *Mater, te appello* became proverbial.¹⁴⁹ Porphyrio gives Fufius' name Fufius Phocaeus.¹⁵⁰

LEPOS

Lepos, whose talents Horace and his friends did not care to discuss,¹⁵¹ was a dancer and mimic actor of the Roman stage. As a mimus he recited poetry and acted parts in the farces of the same name. The name Lepos is his stage pseudonym, given him, says the Scholiast, and as the word imports, *quod iucunde et mol-liter saltaret et loquetur*.¹⁵² Acron says: *nomen opinatissimi saltatoris, grati Caesari*.¹⁵³

DOSSENUS

The Dossenus of Horace¹⁵⁴ may well be an actor. It is often assumed that he is a character in a play of Plautus. In the margin of one of Orelli's mss. is *Dossenus: persona comica*.¹⁵⁵ Cruquius makes him a writer of Atellanae.¹⁵⁶ Others make him the same as Fabius Dossenus.¹⁵⁷ He is quite possibly a type—a standing character of Atellanae. Horace's description, however, well characterizes a comic actor of the day:

Dossenus, great in hungry parasites,
Shuffles, in slipshod fashion, on the stage,
Intent on present profit from his plays;

¹⁴⁸ Hor., *Sat.*, II, 3, 61.

¹⁴⁹ *Ad Hor.*, loc. cit.

¹⁵⁰ Porph., *ad loc. cit.*

¹⁵¹ *Epp.*, II, 1, 73.

¹⁵² *Vid.* Long and Macleane's *Horace*, loc. cit.

¹⁵³ Cf. also theories of Schmitz, and Porphyrio.

¹⁵⁴ Pliny, *N. H.*, XIV, 15.

¹⁴⁹ Cic., *Pro Sest.*, 59; *Acad.*, 2, 27.

¹⁵¹ Hor., *Sat.*, II, 6, 72.

¹⁵² *Ad loc. cit.*

And caring little for prospective fame
 Him whom vain glory to the stage attracts
 Applause puffs up and inattention chills;
 And threatens riot if the knights dissent,
 When they cry out for bears or pugilists,
 And sometimes the knight himself will starve his ears
 To feed his eye on tinsel pageantries.¹⁵⁸

BATHYLLOS

Under the Empire the pantomimic art found more favor than either the regular drama or the art of mimes. The populace patronized the mimes, the upper classes the pantomimes. Of the latter, Bathyllos was the first great exponent. He developed the dramatic dance into an independent art under Augustus about 22 B. C. He was a great favorite of Maecenas.¹⁵⁹ Bathyllos was the founder of the comic dramatic dance, while his great rival Pylades originated the tragic species. The rivalry of these two actors led to the greatest disorder in the theater: "The games in honor of Augustus," says Tacitus, "began then first to be embroiled by dissention arising out of the performance of pantomimes. Augustus had countenanced that pastime out of complaisance to Maecenas, who was a passionate admirer of Bathyllos."¹⁶⁰ Hence Bathyllos suffered only a rebuke from Augustus. Such disturbances, says Dio Cassius, lessened the attention of the populace to more serious public movements.¹⁶¹

Bathyllos came from Alexandria, we are told. His specialty being comedy, he represented such characters as Pan and Echo or a Satyr enflamed by Eros: *Pylades in comoedia, Bathyllos in tragoedia multum a se aberant*.¹⁶² He was also a teacher of his art and established a school: *Stat per successores Pyladis et Bathylli domus; harum artium multi discipuli sunt multique doctores*.¹⁶³

Juvenal tells of the skill of a Bathyllos in his day, a pantomime who doubtless took the name from the first and greater artist of the time of Augustus. Here the perfection to which refinement in

¹⁵⁸ *Epp.*, II, 1, 172-185. Trans. Hovender.

¹⁵⁹ *Dio Cass.*, 54, 17.

¹⁶⁰ *Ann.*, I, 54; *vid. et.* *Dio Cass.*, 54, 17.

¹⁶¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁶² *Sen., Epist.*, II, 1; *Fried. B.*, II, p. 351.

¹⁶³ *Sen., n. q.*, VII, 32.

the art of dancing was developed is vividly sketched: "When the beautiful boy Bathyllos," says Juvenal, "was dancing Lede, the most impudent actor of mimes felt like a mere novice in the art of sensual refinement."¹⁶⁴ This Bathyllos belongs to the time of Domitian or Trajan.

PYLADES

These dramatic dancers developed their art to great perfection. Seductive grace was the prime requirement. Apuleius relates how his step-son's father-in-law became by practicing the pantomime's art so pliable in body that he seemed to have no thews and sinews at all.¹⁶⁵ Pylades, a Cicilian, was the great rival of Bathyllos. He developed especially the comic dance.¹⁶⁶ Dio Cassius and Macrobius relate most of the incidents of his career known to us. "Augustus allowed," says Dio, "those praetors who so desired, to spend on the festivals besides what was given them from the public treasury, three times as much again, so that even if some were vexed by reason of his other regulations, yet by reason of this one alone because he brought back one Pylades, a dancer, driven out on account of civil quarrels, they remembered them no longer. Hence Pylades is said to have rejoined very cleverly when the Emperor rebuked him for having quarreled with Bathyllos, an artist in the same line, and a relative of Maecenas: "It is to your advantage, Cæsar, that the populace exhaust its energies over us."¹⁶⁷

Pylades acted characters drawn from the regular drama. With great success he appeared in the part of Hercules in the *Hercules Furens*. When some thought that he did not display movements becoming a dancer, laying aside his mask, he shouted at those laughing at his performance: "Fools, I am dancing a mad-man."¹⁶⁸

In this play he also hurled arrows at the people. The character of the mad Hercules he also acted before Augustus. The Emperor showed his appreciation and admiration by announcing that he was as much taken with Pylades as was the Roman populace: *eodem se loco Pyladi quo populum Romanum fuisse*.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ *Sat.*, vi, 63-66.

¹⁶⁶ *Sen.*, *Ep.*, ii, 1.

¹⁶⁸ *Macrob.*, ii, vii, 16.

¹⁶⁵ *Apol.*, c. 74.

¹⁶⁷ 54, 17.

¹⁶⁹ *Macr.*, ii, vii, 17.

In answer to Augustus's query as to what he had contributed to the dancing art, Pylades answered: "The crash of flutes and pipes, the din of men."¹⁷⁰

Pylades accumulated great wealth and in his old age, 2 B. C., he had spectacles presented at Rome: "He conducted certain games, not performing any manual labor in connection with them (since he was now an old man of advanced age), but employing the insignia of office and authorizing the necessary expenditures."¹⁷¹

Suetonius intimates that it was a new art that Pylades introduced: *Pylades, Cilix, pantomimus, cum veteres ipsi canerent atque saltarent, primus Romae chorum et fistulam sibi praecinere fecit.*¹⁷²

Another Pylades was the favorite of Trajan. That Emperor brought him back to the theatre.¹⁷³ He was freed by Hadrian.¹⁷⁴ A third gave extravagant exhibitions under Commodus at Puteoli.¹⁷⁵ These later followers of the art established by the first took his name, suggests Friedländer.¹⁷⁶ The first and greatest of the artists of the name founded schools: *stat per successores Pyladis et Bathylli domus.*¹⁷⁷ An inscription at Pompeii intimates that Pylades acted outside of Rome; a festival given by a high official in honor of Apollo was celebrated in song and recitation by "all the pantomimes and Pylades."¹⁷⁸ His most famous exhibition was in the impersonation of Bacchus. In that part, "he seemed the god on earth reincarnated."¹⁷⁹

Pylades also, it is said, wrote a treatise on his special art, in addition to founding a school of his theories of tragic pantomime.¹⁸⁰ The comic species of Bathyllos lasted at least to the time of Plutarch, but the tragedy of Pylades usurped its place and continued much later.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁰ Macrob., *cit. loc.*

¹⁷¹ Dio Cass., 55, 10. The translation of Dio here and elsewhere is that of H. B. Foster.

¹⁷² *Reliq.*, ed. Roth, p. 301.

¹⁷³ Dio Cass., 68, 10.

¹⁷⁴ *C. I. L.*, v, 7753.

¹⁷⁵ Friedl., *Anhang zu dritten Abschnitt*, p. 265; *Inscript. Lat.*, ed. Des-sau, 5186.

¹⁷⁶ *Sittengesch.*, B. 2, p. 461.

¹⁷⁷ Sen., *qu. n.*, vii, 32.

¹⁷⁸ *C. I. L.*, x, 1074.

¹⁷⁹ *Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, p. 162.

¹⁸⁰ Athen., 1, 1.

¹⁸¹ Plut., 1, 1.

HYLAS

The most famous pupil of Pylades of whom mention is made was Hylas. Macrobius states that Hylas was so well trained that Pylades had him compete with him, the master, in public competitions: "The people were divided in their votes between the two. When, however, Hylas was dancing a certain *canticum*, of which a *clausula* was τὸν μέγαν Ἀγαμέμνονα, Hylas tried to represent Agamemnon's great size of body by standing on tip-toe. Pylades could not stand that, and cried out from his seat in the *cavea*: σὺ μακρὸν οὐ μέγαν ποιεῖς. 'You make him tall, not great.' Then the audience made Hylas dance again the *canticum*, and when he came to the place where he had blundered, he represented Agamemnon in meditation, thinking that nothing could be more befitting a great leader than to be thinking for all others." Pylades could not approve of the representation of meditation while the actor was speaking.¹⁸² Again, Hylas was interpreting the blind Oedipus; Pylades challenged the assurance of the dancer with telling him: σὺ βλέπεις: "You act as though you see."¹⁸³

Augustus took occasion to call Pylades to account because of the sedition of the people occasioned by the rivalry between him and Hylas. With great self-possession the master dancer replied: "Verily O King, you are unappreciative: Let them busy themselves over us."¹⁸⁴ Both Pylades and Hylas suffered the penalty of belonging to a profession which the laws of Rome always penalized: Hylas was flogged in the atrium of his house, and Pylades suffered banishment because he had pointed his finger at a man in the audience who hissed him.¹⁸⁵

NOMIUS. THEORUS

Other rivals, in the pantomimic art of Bathyllos and Pylades were Nomius the Syrian, Pierus of Tibur and Gaius Theoros.¹⁸⁶ Nomius, as related by Seneca, was once censured for not moving his feet and his hands in harmony: *Nomio cum velocitas pedum non concedatur tantum sed obiciatur, lentiores manus sunt.*¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² II, VII, 12 ff.¹⁸³ Macrobi., *loc. cit.*¹⁸⁴ Macrobi., *loc. cit.*¹⁸⁵ Suet., I, 1.¹⁸⁶ Friedländer, *Sittengesch.*, B. II, p. 451.¹⁸⁷ *Controv.*, III, *praef.* 10.

Theoros was "the light and conqueror of the pantomimes, who enchanted even the god; how can men hesitate to follow the god?" ¹⁸⁸

Gaius Theoros lux victor pantomim.
Si deus ipse tua captus nunc a(rte) Theorost,
a(n) dubitant h(omines) velle imit(are) deum? ¹⁸⁹

PRINCEPS

The flute-player *Princeps* regularly accompanied the performances of *Bathyllos*. A story of the vanity of this man is related by the fabulist *Phaedrus*. *Friedländer* gives the account thus: "The flute-player broke his leg while the scene was being changed, owing to his own carelessness or the fall of some scenery. He was confined to his bed for several months and the artistic public greatly missed his performances. When he was able to walk again, a distinguished personage, who was arranging a spectacle, asked *Princeps* to appear in it. The curtain fell, the thunder rolled, the gods spoke in the usual manner; after which the chorus struck up a song, the words of which were unknown to *Princeps*, beginning with 'Rejoice aloud, O Rome; thy Prince is safe and sound.' The public rose and applauded; *Princeps*, thinking the applause was meant for him, threw kisses to the spectators; the knights, whose seats were in the front of the house, observed his folly and conceit, and laughing loudly demanded an encore. The song was repeated; *Princeps* bowed to the ground on the stage; the knights again applauded in mockery. The general public at first believed he was asking for a crown. But when his real meaning became known, the impudent fellow, who had dared claim the homage paid to the divine house, was thrown out amidst general indignation, 'with his beautiful white leg-bandages, white tunic, and white shoes.' " ¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ *Friedl. B. II, p. 451.*

¹⁸⁹ (In parte aversa, in medio) Theoros victor pantimimorum. (Circa marginem) Pyladem Cilicia, Pierum Tibertin., Hyla. Salmacid., Nomium Suria. (*Inscrip. Lat., ed. Dessau, 5197.*)

¹⁹⁰ *Friedl., Sittengesch., trans. Freese and Magnus; Phaed., 5, 7.* For an inscription referring probably to this *Princeps* see *Inscr. Lat., ed. Dessau, 5239.*

PARIS

Of all the pantomimic dancers, Paris, the minion of Domitian, is the most renowned and among the most infamous under the Empire. The chronology of the *vitae* of Juvenal, the chief source for arriving at Paris's date, is too obscure to give information that would definitely fix Paris's date. He evidently belongs to the last days of the Emperor Domitian. The *vitae* would have it that Juvenal directed the shafts of his satire against the actor. The first *vita* says: "There was at that time among the dandies of the court an actor (*histrion*) of the court and many of his admirers were daily banished. Juvenal therefore became an object of suspicion and was banished in his 80th year." Paris, however, was put to death in 83 A. D., and Juvenal was writing satires long after 100 A. D. The *vitae* are all agreed, however, that the influence of Paris at court brought about the banishment of the satirist. Again, Paris could hardly have been ashamed of the influence with which Juvenal charged him, nor could he have been much abashed by the prominence accorded him by Juvenal's satire, but must rather have boasted of it: the complaint to the Emperor would more naturally have come through the nobles than through the dancer.¹²¹

Paris was not only a pantomimic dancer but also an actor of the regular drama: "Stattius may recite verses whose popularity will bring down the house with applause, but he may starve unless he sells his unpublished *Agave* to Paris."¹²² This suggestion here of the purchase of a tragedy by Paris may even suggest that Paris was a *magister gregis*, a presenter of plays himself. Such a reference to the purchase of a play by a play-actor or a stage-manager is supported, to be sure, by but one other passage, viz., in the prologue to the *Hauton Timorumenos* of the days of Terence, where Ambivius Turpio, as prologuist, speaks of plays purchased at his own expense. Moreover, the statement of Juvenal is not to the effect that Stattius actually sold his *Agave* to Paris. Stattius may, of course, have gone hungry: this may be pure satire. Friedländer goes beyond the mark in both his *Belles Lettres* and his *Spectacles* in stating that Paris actually purchased the tragedy.

¹²¹ *Vid.*, Mayor, *Sat. Juv.*, VII, 88.

¹²² *Juv., Sat.*, VII, 87.

Suetonius in the *vita* of Juvenal speaks of Paris as a playwright, *poeta*; and again as *histrio*, which also appears in the *Satires* of Juvenal. It is folly to say that, in Juvenal, this is because *pantomimus* is not admissible in dactylic verse, as the commentators state. *Histrio* may often under the empire be restricted to the meaning of *pantomimus*, but not always. Paris could not be *poeta* and actor of tragedies, or a manager, and at the same time be nothing more than a pantomimic dancer.

His popularity is indicated by Juvenal¹⁹³ in a verse where a faithless wife is represented as showing no concern for her children or her native land, "and," adds Juvenal, "quitted the shows and Paris."

According to Martial, Paris came from Egypt: *Nili sales*.¹⁹⁴ Pliny the Elder, evidently referring to Paris, says that the yearly income of a pantomime who had purchased his freedom was greater than the highest price ever paid for a slave, i. e., 700,000 sesterces, in the case of the grammarian Daphnis.¹⁹⁵ He was, according to the account of Dio Cassius, put to death because of an intrigue with the Empress Domitia: "Domitian," says Dio, "planned to put his wife to death, but being dissuaded, he sent her away and midway on the road murdered Paris, because of her."¹⁹⁶

An artistic epigram by Martial does Paris justice: "Wanderer on the via Flaminia, do not pass by this noble monument; the delight of Rome, the wit of Alexandria, merriment, joy, the grief and the glory of the Roman stage and all the goddesses of love lie buried here with Paris."¹⁹⁷ After his death many brought flowers and perfumes to his tomb: "When many paid honor to the spot with flowers and perfumes, Domitian gave orders that they too should be slain."¹⁹⁸

The name Paris was, of course, a stage pseudonym taken from the more illustrious Paris of Troy.¹⁹⁹ Many others adopted the same name after a convention of the stage. Under Nero a Paris had maintained the favoritism of the Emperor even against the

¹⁹³ *Sat.*, VI, 87.

¹⁹⁵ *N. H.*, 7, 128.

¹⁹⁷ XI, 13.

¹⁹⁴ II, 13, 3.

¹⁹⁶ LXVII, 3.

¹⁹⁸ Dio Cass., LXVII, 3.

¹⁹⁹ The story of Paris of Troy, especially the legend of the Golden Apples, was a favorite theme for the pantomimes. (*Vid.*, Apuleius, *Met.*, x, pp. 232-236.).

Empress-mother: "Paris stood so high in the favor of Nero that he even accused the Empress-mother. He demanded back from Domitia, the paternal aunt of the Emperor, 10,000 sesterces which he had paid for his manumission, on the ground that she had not legally owned him; and with the Emperor's intervention he won his case."²⁰⁰ Nero had him executed eleven years later, A. D. 67. He had been spared before, says Dio Cassius, "because he was too important to the Emperor in his debauches to suffer punishment."²⁰¹ Suetonius states that Nero's reason for murdering him was that Nero, desiring to excel in dancing, feared a rival in Paris, who was his former teacher.²⁰² Lucian relates how the most famous pantomime of Rome at the time, very likely Paris, convinced the philosopher Demetrius, who lived under Nero, that he was mistaken in supposing that the art of the pantomimes was defective without music and chorus. The famous dancer performed before the philosopher the adultery of Mars and Venus. "His dumb show exhibited so effectually the sun-god informing the deceived husband, the device of Vulcan and the invisible fetters, Venus' shame, Mars' entreaties, and all the other gods summoned by Vulcan, that the philosopher admiringly admitted his error."²⁰³

A third Paris was one of three pantomimes influential at the court of Lucius Verus, whom that Emperor had brought from Syria with him.²⁰⁴

MEMPHIS

Memphis was also a pantomime whom Lucius Verus had at his court, one of those whom he had brought from Syria: *habuit (Verus) et Agrippum histrionem, cui cognomentum erat Memphi, quem et ipsum e Syria veluti trophaeum adduxerat, quem Apolaustum nominavit.*²⁰⁵ He was put to death under Commodus.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰ Tac., *Ann.*, 13, 27; 13, 19-22.

²⁰¹ *IXVIII*, 18.

²⁰² Suet., *Nero*, c. 54. *Of. Inscr. Lat.*, ed. Dessau, 5181a.

²⁰³ Lucian *Salt.*, ed. Reiske, III, 391, 23; *Friedl.*, II, p. 454 trans. Friese, Magnus.

²⁰⁴ *Vid. Inscr. Lat.*, ed. Dessau, 5203, n. 2; *cf. Epist. Frontonis ad Verum*, ed. A. Maius, p. 98, n.; Galen, ed. Kuehn, XII, p. 454. Friedländer identifies five Parises: I, 3, 104-105; II, 2, 318, 336-338; 460, anhang.

²⁰⁵ *Epist. ad Verum*, 8, 10, Fronto, ed. A. Maius, p. 99, n. 1.

²⁰⁶ *Athen.* I, p. 20; *vid. et Inscr. Lat.*, ed. Dessau, 5187, 5203.

DEMETRIUS

The two most worthy representatives of the regular drama under the Empire are Demetrius and Stratocles. The large proportion of names that have come down to us are those of mimi and pantomimi. Trimalcio, aping the fashionable rich, says that he prefers that the troupe of actors whom he has bought should act Atellanæ rather than comedy.²⁰⁷ Few writers of the legitimate drama indeed survived. Afranius' *Incendium* was acted at a great festival given by Nero; but the house and the stage were given over to the actors to plunder as reward for their exhibition.²⁰⁸ The drama of the Roscian period had become obsolete. "Studied eloquence," says Tacitus, "in judicial proceedings was as intolerable as a gesture of an Ambivius or a Roscius on the stage."²⁰⁹ Quintilian's sketch, however, of Demetrius and Stratocles indicates that there was a line drawn between the regular and the degraded forms of the drama. The art of these two actors was the result of the most painstaking care and earnest study; though Juvenal says they were born actors, and, being Greeks, would attract no special attention in their own country, where all are equally good actors. He gives them credit, however, of being able to act the part of a woman character to the life.²¹⁰

Quintilian makes Demetrius preëminent for the rich quality of his voice, for his fine figure and remarkable beauty. His rôle was in representing the less boisterous characters of the palliatæ. His repertoire included such parts as gods, youths, good fathers, wives and staid old ladies. There was passion in his gesture; his stage exclamations and ejaculations were unrivaled in their prolongation and harmony. His skill in inflating his garments by deep breathing, as he walked, and his gestures with the right side are noted by Quintilian.²¹¹

STRATOCLES

Stratocles, on the other hand, was more successful in representing passionate old men, cunning slaves, parasites, procurers, and other bustling characters, *personæ motoriae*. "For their natural

²⁰⁷ Petron., *Cena Tr.*, 54.

²⁰⁸ Suet., *Nero*, 11.

²⁰⁹ *Dial. de Orat.*, c. 20.

²¹⁰ Juv., *Sat.*, III, 93-100; *vid.* Madvig, *Opusc.*, i, 50.

²¹¹ XI, III, 178-180.

endowments were very different, as even the voice of Demetrius was more pleasing and that of Stratocles more powerful. But what was more observable was their individuality of action, which could not have been transferred from one to the other; as to move the hand in a peculiar way, to prolong exclamations in an agreeable tone to please the audience, to puff out the garments, could have been becoming in no actor but Demetrius; for in all these respects he was aided by a good stature and comely person. On the contrary, hurry and perpetual motion and a laugh not altogether in harmony with his mask, a laugh which he laughed to please the people, and with perfect consciousness of what he was doing, or a shrug of the shoulders, were extremely agreeable in Stratocles. But whatever excellence either had would have proved an offensive failure had it been attempted by the other " ²¹² Unfortunately, we have no other so vivid sketch of any Roman actor except the sketch by Cicero of Roscius.

ANTIOCHUS. HAEMUS.

Juvenal honors Antiochus and Haemus by grouping them with Demetrius and Stratocles, praised so highly by Quintilian. Haemus was soft and effeminate in his utterance, says Juvenal. ²¹³ Elsewhere the satirist remarks on the insinuating tones that Haemus was capable of using in his passionate parts. ²¹⁴ Both he and Antiochus were actors of *palliatae*, like Demetrius and Stratocles; "and none of the four would attract attention in his own land, Greece, where lives a nation of actors." ²¹⁵

APELLES

A tragic actor who rose to eminence on the stage under the Empire was Appelles. He lived under Caligula, and was a great favorite of that patron of the stage, though Caligula did not on that account refrain from flogging Apelles. As Suetonius tells it, Apelles hesitated, and did not answer the Emperor with sufficient promptness, when the two were standing one day near a statue of Jupiter, the question whether Jupiter or Caligula was the greater. But Caligula immediately shouted his praises of Apelles' voice,

²¹³ Quint., *loc. cit.*

²¹⁴ Sat., vi, 198.

²¹⁵ Sat., iii, 92.

²¹⁶ Juv., *loc. cit.*

declaring that its tones were very sweet even in groans. The equable quality of his voice won the admiration of Caligula but not his mercy: *quasi etiam in gemitu praeclarem*.²¹⁶ Real groans pleased him even better than the feigned suffering of the tragic stage.

This same Apelles is probably referred to again in Suetonius' *Vespasian* 19, where an Apelles²¹⁷ acted at the games in honor of the dedication of the restoration of the temple of Marcellus, erected by Augustus.²¹⁸ Of the actors present Apelles received the highest reward, 400,000 sesterces. Apelles was at this time past the prime of life, for Suetonius says that it was the *vetera acroamata*, whom Vespasian recalled at this time, A. D. 74.

Dio Cassius represents Apelles as the foremost tragedian of his time. "Gaius was," says Dio, "the slave of theatrical performers and dancers. Indeed, he always kept Apelles, the most famous of the tragedians of that day, with him in public."²¹⁹ Himself originally a spectator, Gaius finally became a partisan of actors and at last a performer, driving chariots, fighting duels, giving exhibitions of dancing and acting in tragedy.²²⁰ Apelles was doubtless his teacher in theatricals.

ACTIUS

A single reference gives the name of Actius as an actor of comedy. He was granted his freedom by Tiberius, not because that Emperor took any special interest in the theater, but because the manumission of Actius was urged by others, who were the actor's friends. Tiberius himself gave no spectacles or theatrical presentations.²²¹

GLYCO

Persius mentions a tragic actor by the name of Glyco. He belonged to the time of Nero. Glyco was granted his freedom because Nero was so pleased with the tragedian's skillful performances. This information is given by the Scholiast on Persius, as is also the

²¹⁶ *Calig.*, 33.

²¹⁷ *Vid.*, Valp., *edd.* Appolinari. Apelli, cod. Trib. item Med. 2 a sec. manu, Torrentius pro Appellari.

²¹⁸ Suet., *Aug.*, c. 29.

²¹⁹ *LIX*, 5, 2.

²²⁰ Dio Cass., *loc. cit.*

²²¹ Suet., *Tiber.*, 47. *Cf. et. Inscr. Lat.*, ed. Dessau, 5182; *id.*, 5183.

the following commentary: that Glyco was the joint property of another tragic actor Vergilius and a third person; that Nero paid Vergilius 200,000 sesterces for his, Vergilius's, share in Glyco; that, in appearance, Glyco was tall, dark, with a hanging lower lip, and generally unpleasant to look at when his stage accoutrements were absent: *hic fuit staturae longae, fusci corporis, labio inferiori dimisso, antequam subordnaretur, deformis.*²²² Persius²²³ calls Glyco *insultus*, because, so says the scholiast, Glyco was unable to take a joke. Conington suggests that Persius in his satire is ridiculing the people through their favorite actor who was probably too tragic in his style, "supped full of horrors."²²⁴

FAVOR

Favor was an *archimimus*, i. e. the leader of a group of mimes. He acted the part of Vespasian at the funeral games of that emperor, reproducing the character and style of Vespasian. When asked as to the cost of the funeral, he answered: "Ten thousand sesterces, but give me 100,000 and then throw me into the Tiber, if you will."²²⁵

TERPNUS. DIODORUS

At the same games at which Apelles performed for Caligula, Terpnus and Diodorus are mentioned as *citharoedi*, i. e. players on the cithara, which they accompanied with the voice. Terpnus received 200,000 sesterces, as did also his fellow *citharoedus* Diodorus.²²⁶ Terpnus was summoned by Nero, when he assumed the throne, to be his music master. Nero sat by his side day after day and till late at night while Terpnus played. At the dedication of the temple of Marcellus Terpnus and Diodorus received pay next highest to Apelles; others receiving 40,000 sesterces, a great quantity of golden crowns being scattered indiscriminately.²²⁷

²²² Scholiast on Persius, *Sat.*, 5, 9.

²²³ *Loc. cit.*

²²⁴ Coning., Nettlesh. *Persius*, *loc. cit.* Cf. Martial, x, 4, for similar actors.

²²⁵ Suet., *Vesp.*, c. 19; Friedl., II, 442.

²²⁶ Suet., *Vesp.*, 19.

²²⁷ Suet. *Nero*, 20.

MNESTER

After the death of Apelles, Mnester became the favorite of Caligula. He was a pantomime, famous for his beauty of body and face. He danced the tragedy which the tragedian Neoptolemus had once acted at the games at which Philip of Macedon was killed.²²⁸

Mnester was a forced lover of Messalina, the wife of Claudius, A. D. 43. She withdrew him from the theatre and incurred the displeasure of the Roman people for that reason. The populace were much devoted to his dancing, but to spare him any punishment they refrained from complaining to Claudius of his detention at the imperial palace by Messalina. "For," says Dio, "he pleased the people as much by his skill as he did the Empress by his beauty." With his abilities as a dancer he combined great cleverness at repartee, so that once when the crowd with mighty enthusiasm begged him to perform a certain pantomimic dance, he dared to come to the front of the stage and say:

To do this I may not try:
Orestes' bedfellow am I.²²⁹

According to Dio Cassius, Mnester had resisted all the advances of Messalina, and yielded only when she secured from the Emperor himself an injunction that he "should obey her in all things." Tacitus tells of the death of the actor.²³⁰

VITALIS

The mime Vitalis attained to great wealth and fame. His tomb boasts that he was the most famous man in the city:

Hic ego praevalui tota notissimus urbe
hinc mihi larga domus, hinc mihi census erat.

Notissimus indicates a renown, however, not altogether enviable; the inscription elsewhere on the same tomb attests to the immodesty of his representations: "Anyone I represented shivered as though at his double: and many women whom I imitated on the stage blushed and were overcome with confusion."²³¹

²²⁸ Suet., *Calig.*, 36, 57.

²²⁹ *Ann.*, XI, 36.

²³⁰ Dio Cass., 60, 22 et 28.

²³¹ Meyer, *Anthol. Lat.*, II, p. 89.

DATUS

Datus, an actor of Atellanae, was banished by Nero because he hinted on the stage at the poisoning and the drowning of Agrippina. Datus accomplished the trick by making the gestures of a man drinking and swimming and crying "Hail, Father, Hail, Mother."²³²

ALITYROS

The mime Alityros, a Jew influential at the court of Nero and a favorite of the Emperor, procured the introduction of Josephus to the Empress Poppaea at Putioli. He obtained the release of some Jewish captives, sent to the Emperor in chains, by interceding with Nero in their behalf.²³³

RUFUS

Martial has a single reference to an actor by the name of Julius Rufus:

*Si Romana forent haec Socratis ora, fuissent
Iulius in Satyris qualia Rufus habet.*²³⁴

This may mean, says Teuffel: "If such a Sokrates (Silenus) countenance would pass for a Roman, we might also declare to be such a mask in which Julius Rufus appears as Silenus."

TETTIUS

Tettius Caballus also is noted by Martial. He acted in Atellanae, seemingly, and was a buffoon, *scurra*. Addressing his friend Caecilius, Martial warns him against posing as a wit, though he may think that he can outdo Tettius Caballus:

*Qui Gabbam salibus tuis, et ipsum,
Possis vincere Tettium Caballum.*²³⁵

GABBA

The Gabba, also a *scurra*, mentioned here with Tettius, is again referred to by Martial:

²³² Suet., *Nero*, 37.

²³⁴ x. 99.

²³³ Joseph., *vita* 3.

²³⁵ i. 42, 16-17.

Elysio redeat si forte remissus ab agro
 Ille suo felix Caesare Gabba vetus,
 Qui Capitolinum pariter Gabbamque iocantes
 Audierit, dicet: ' Rustice Gabbe, tace,'²³⁶

Gabba belonged to the time, then, of Augustus. Some mss. read *Galba*, who may have been the A. Galba of whom Quintilian speaks,²³⁷ and of whom the scholiast Valla says: *Appicius Galba sub Tiberio scurra nobilis fuit*. Juvenal speaks of him in the same breath with Sarmentus, the table-wit of Augustus:

Si potes pati quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
 Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Gabba tulisset.²³⁸

Gabba, says Plutarch, used to close his eyes when dining with Maecenas, so as not to see his patron ogling his wife. But when a slave attempted to appropriate his wine, Gabba said: "I am asleep only as far as seeing Maecenas is concerned."²³⁹

SARMENTUS

Horace's Sarmentus²⁴⁰ is another such buffoon. These jesters were actors borrowed from the stage, usually chosen on the grounds that they possessed some physical deformity. The story of Sarmentus is told by Rutgersius.²⁴¹ He was an Etrurian by birth, a slave of M. Favonius. He passed into the hands of Maecenas when Favonius lost his property by confiscation, and was thereupon freed by Maecenas. Upon being given a position as *scriba*, he assumed the rank of *eques*.²⁴² Brought to trial for assuming a rank to which he was not entitled, he was acquitted by the jury, the accuser being put out of the way. According to Rutgersius he had such a good memory that he never had to write anything down, he could carry so much in his head. In his old age he was reduced to poverty, and was compelled to sell his position as scribe. His poverty was brought about by his extravagance.

In Horace's day he seems to have been free, but Messius, his opponent in buffoonery, says he still belongs to the widow of

²³⁶ X, CI.

²³⁷ v, 4-5

²³⁸ *Sat.*, I, 5, 52 ff.

²³⁹ Cf. Porphyrio *ad Hor.*, *loc. cit.*

²⁴⁰ VI, 3, 27, 64, 66.

²⁴¹ *Amator.*, 16, 22, p. 760.

²⁴² *Ven. Lect.*, c. XVI, *fin.*

Favonius.²⁴³ Juvenal says that a man who wished to spend the life of a parasite at court must endure more than a Sarmentus or a Gabba would put up with.²⁴⁴

MESSIUS

Messius Cicirrhus, with the disfiguring scar on his forehead, is said by Porphyrio to have belonged also to the equestrian rank, but he seems rather to have belonged to the neighboring country through which Horace and his friends were passing. Porphyrio is probably extending the commentary of the earlier scholiast.²⁴⁵ He doubtless belonged to the household of Cocceius. If he at all resembled the unicorn described by Pliny, he was a very unsightly person indeed.²⁴⁶

BATTUS

Battus, says Plutarch, was another such jester, borrowed from the stage. The soldiers of Trajan preferred his jests to more refined exhibitions.²⁴⁷

POLLIO

Of a *citharoedus* by the name of Pollio, famous in the time of Juvenal and Martial, there are several notices: *here de theatro, Pollione cantante*.²⁴⁸ "A lady of the Claudian gens sacrificed to all the gods from first to last and asked whether Pollio might fairly hope to be crowned with the oak leaf at the Capitoline games."²⁴⁹ He, it seems, also taught his art:

tempta,
Chrysogonus quanti doceat vel Polio quanti
lautorum pueros.²⁵⁰

PAELIGNUS

Paelignus under Claudius, and that Emperor's favorite jester, was given the governorship of Cappadocia:

Erat Cappadociae Iulius Paelignus, ignavia animi et deridiculo corporis iuxta despicendus, sed Claudio perquam familiaris, cum privatus olim conversatione scurrarum iners otium oblectaret. is Paelignus auxiliis pro-

²⁴³ Macleane's *Horace ad loc. cit.*

²⁴⁴ *Sat.*, 5, 1-5. *Vid. Schol. ad loc. cit.*; Plutarch, *Anton.*, 59, 2.

²⁴⁵ Macleane *ad loc. cit.*

²⁴⁶ *N. H.*, VIII, 21.

²⁴⁷ *Quaest. conv.*, VIII, 6, 1, 3.

²⁴⁸ *Mart.*, IV, 61, 9.

²⁴⁹ *Juv.*, VI, 385-387.

²⁵⁰ *Juv.*, VII, 176.

vincialium contractis tamquam reciperaturus Armeniam, dum socios magis quam hostis praedatur, abscessu suorum et incursantibus barbaris praesidi egens ad Radamistum venit; donisque eius evictus ultro regium insigne sumere cohortatur audentique adest auctor et satelles, quod ubi turpi fama divulgatum, ne ceteri quoque ex Paeligno coniectarentur, Helvidius Priscus legatus cum legione mittitur.²⁵³

LATINUS

Latinus was a favorite mime of the Emperor Domitian. Martial makes him partner on the stage with the mime Thymele:

Qua Thymelen spectas derisoremque Latinum,
Illa fronte precor carmina nostra legas.²⁵⁴

Juvenal also makes these two colleagues,²⁵⁵ representing Latinus as a powerful informer of Domitian: *et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino*. Martial, in counselling a modest woman not to read the more immodest parts of a book, corrects himself: "Read on, for it is no worse than the mimes, and you attend the performances of Panniculus and Latinus."²⁵⁶ Yet Martial speaks of the great skill and fame that were Latinus's:

Dulce decus scaenae, ludorum fama, Latinus
Ille ego sum, plausus deliciaeque tuae,

"who could under my spell have made even Cato and the Curii and the Fabricii relax; but it is only on the stage that I act vice; my lord and god reads the heart."²⁵⁵ Suetonius says that Latinus reported the news of the day to Domitian at his dinner.²⁵⁶ Juvenal refers to Latinus's playing the part of a lover and saving himself from the jealousy of the husband: "Who has so often hidden in the chest that held Latinus in danger of his life."²⁵⁷

PANNICULUS

Panniculus, another mimic actor of the day, was the butt of Latinus on the stage, receiving resounding blows from Latinus to provoke the merriment of the audience.²⁵⁸

O quandignus eras alapis, Mariane, Latini:
Te successurum credo ego Panniculo.²⁵⁹

²⁵³ Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 49.

²⁵⁴ I, 36.

²⁵⁵ IX, XXVIII.

²⁵⁶ Sat., VI, 44.

²⁵⁷ Mart., V, LXI.

²⁵⁸ I, 4 = I, 5, 5-6.

²⁵⁹ III, LXXXVI.

²⁶⁰ Domit., 15.

²⁶¹ Mart., II, LXXII.

ARBUSCULA

Many of the *mimae* attained to great celebrity. Arbuscula, of the time of Cicero, was such an one: *quaeris nunc de Arbuscula. valde placuit. Ludi magnifici et grati.*²⁶⁰ The time when Cicero wrote this letter was 54 B. C. She was not therefore acting at the time when Horace wrote his *Satires*, and it is a legend that Horace tells when he speaks of Arbuscula saying that she cared not for the hisses of the rest of her audience if only the front seats applauded her.²⁶¹

DIONYSIA

Dionysia also belonged to the days of Cicero. She amassed great wealth from her profession: "Roscius could easily have earned 300,000 sesterces if Dionysia can earn 200,000."²⁶²

CYTHERIS

Cytheris, too, belongs to the Ciceronian period. Her assumed name when she accompanied M. Antonius, was Volumnia: *non noto illo et mimico nomine sed Volumniam.*²⁶³ This name of Volumnia she received from the senator P. Volumnius, of whom she was a freedwoman.²⁶⁴ Plutarch recognizes Cytheris and Volumnia as the same.²⁶⁵ Her profession of courtesan outshone that of actress.

ORIGO

Origo is mentioned by Horace as a *mima*:

Ut quodam Marsaeus, amator Originis ille,
Qui patrium mimae donat fundumque, laremque.²⁶⁶

Her date is not evident.

²⁶⁰ Cic., *ad Att.*, iv, 15, 6.

²⁶¹ *Sat.*, i, x, 77.

²⁶² Cic., *Pro. Rosc.*, viii.

²⁶³ Cic., *Phil.*, ii, 24.

²⁶⁴ Servius, *Elog.*, x.

²⁶⁵ *Vid.*, Cic. *ad Att.*, x, 10, 5; *ad Fam.*, ix, 26, 3.

²⁶⁶ *Sat.*, i, 2, 55.

THYMELE

The mima Thymele was the co-actor with the mimus Latinus.²⁶⁷ Again, she is the colleague of the mimus Corinthus: *zelotypus Thymeles, stupidi collega Corinthi*.²⁶⁸ Here a noble plays the part of her jealous husband. Bathyllos, however, says Juvenal, could, in his impersonations of women, outshame Thymele; when he acted she was but a novice, a mere simple country girl in comparison with his characters: *Thymele tunc rustica discit*.²⁶⁹

SOPHE

The corpus gives the name of *Sophe Theorobathylliana arbitrix emboliarum* (interludes).²⁷⁰ Sophe, as the inscription tells, was a pupil of the pantomimes Bathyllos and Theoros; and should therefore be called a *pantomima*.

HERMIONE

Claudia Hermione was an archimima: *dormi. Claudiae Hermonae archimimae sui temporis primae, heredis*.²⁷¹

EUCHARIS

An epitaph of a girl by the name of Eucharis, probably of the time of Nero,²⁷² makes her say that she was the first woman to represent Greek parts on the stage:

Eucharis Liciniae l.,
docta erodita omnes artes virgo, vixit an. **xiiii**.

Haec viridis aetas cum floreret artibus
o crescente et aevo gloriam conscenderet,
properavit hora tristis fatalis mea
et degeneravit ultra vitae spiritum.
Docta erodita paene Musarum manu,
quae modo nobilium ludos decoravi choro
et Graeca in Scena prima populo apparui.²⁷³

²⁶⁷ Juv., I, 36; Mart., I, iv, 5-6.

²⁶⁸ Juv., III, viii, 197.

²⁶⁹ VI, 66.

²⁷⁰ *C. I. L.*, 6, 10128 = *Insc. Lat.*, ed. Dess., 5263.

²⁷¹ *Insc. Lat.*, ed. Dess., 5211 = *C. I. L.*, 6, 10106.

²⁷² Furneaux, *Tac. Ann.*, XIV, 15.

²⁷³ *Insc. Lat.*, ed. Dessau, 5213 = *C. I. L.*, 6, 10096.

FABIA

Fabia M. et C. lib. Arete archimima temporis sui prima diurna,²⁷⁴ gives the name of another archimima. Bassila appears in another inscription.²⁷⁵

SOPHRON

The comedian Sophron acted, it seems, in the provinces. Complaint was made to Epictetus by an imperial procurator that the opponents of Sophron had insulted him in the theatre. Epictetus remarks that the treatment given the procurator was, however, well deserved, for he had taken Sophron's side altogether too vehemently. He and his slaves had risen from their seats and shouted the praises of Sophron. "How, then," says Epictetus, "could he complain if they treated him as one of the mob if he acted like the mob?"²⁷⁶

THEOCRITUS

The dancer and actor Theocritus was made commander of the Armenian army, according to Dio Cassius.²⁷⁷ He was a slave of the chamberlain of Commodus, Saoterus, before raised to his military command by Caracalla.²⁷⁸

GENESIUS

Genesius, as a mime, played in the time of Diocletian. He, it is said, ridiculed Christian baptism. He was afterward martyred.²⁷⁹

GEMINUS

The comedian Geminus was one of the early teachers of Marcus Aurelius.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁴ *Insc. Lat.*, ed. Dessau, 5212 = *C. I. L.*, 6, 10, 107.

²⁷⁵ *C. I. G.*, 6, 10, 106. See the inscriptions for other names of mimae scattered here and there. The *Anecdota* of Procopius give the full details of the life of Theodora, the wife of Justinian, and Empress of Byzantium, who started her public career as a mimae of the stage.

²⁷⁶ *Diss.*, III, 4.

²⁷⁷ Dio Cass., LXXVII, 21.

²⁷⁸ Dio Cass., LXXVII, 21; cf. *Insc. Lat.*, ed. Dessau, 5195.

²⁷⁹ Friedl., 2, p. 443, n. 7; *Martyr. S. Genesii* a 286 p. *C. Ruinart Acta martyrum*, p. 236.

²⁸⁰ M. Antonin., c. 2.

Many of the professional singers whose names have come down to us, were *citharoedi* of the Roman stage. Menecrates of the court of Nero was generously rewarded by the Emperor: *Menecraten citharoedum et Spiculum myrmillonem triumphalium virorum patrimoniis aedibus donavit.*²⁸¹ Mesomedes, a favorite at the court of Hadrian and a freedman of Hadrian, received a large salary.²⁸² Anaxenor, a citharoedus, was honored by Mark Antony with the collectorship of the taxes of four cities and with the attendance of a military escort. His native town of Magnesia bestowed on him a priesthood and erected to him a public monument.²⁸³ These facts illustrate more how the public courted stage artists than furnish any just estimate of the character of the artists' work. The pantomime Mnester held the favor and love of the greatest beauty of Rome, the elder Poppaea.²⁸⁴ Galen tells how the wife of Justus had her case of insomnia diagnosed: the mention of Pylades' name quickened her pulse.²⁸⁵ The actor of togatae, Stephanio, was, in the time of Augustus, waited on by a married woman in the guise of a page.²⁸⁶ The actor and writer of mimes, Marullus, ridiculed on the stage with great freedom Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.²⁸⁷ Caracalla made the dancer Theocritus commander of an army in Armenia.²⁸⁸ Tertullian inquires "whether it is the buffoons (mimes) Lentulus and Hostilius or your gods whose jokes and tricks you laugh at; such subjects as an adulterous Anubis, a masculine moon, Diana scourged, the will of the deceased Jupiter read aloud, and three starving Herculesees held up to ridicule."²⁸⁹ The art of the actor had long since sunk to an extreme refinement of the sensuous and seductive. The healthy criticism of the early Republic against which Ambivius had to struggle, the lofty perfection of dramatic art attained by Roscius, are no longer in evidence.

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²⁸¹ Suet., *Nero*, 30; *Vid.* Petron., *Sat.*, c. 73: *Menecratis cantica*.

²⁸² Euseb., *Chron. ad. a.* 146 p. C.; Suid., *Vita Anton.*, 7.

²⁸³ Strabo, *xiv*, 41, p. 648 C.

²⁸⁴ Tac., *Ann.*, *xi*, 4, 36; *xiii*, 45, 1-2.

²⁸⁵ *De prognos. ad. Epig.*, p. 457. K., *xiv*, 631.

²⁸⁶ Suet., *Aug.*, 45, fin.

²⁸⁷ Galen: *vid.* Fried., *Sitten.*, B. 2, p. 442, n. 7.

²⁸⁸ Dio Cass., *Lxxvii*, 21.

²⁸⁹ Tertull., *Apol.*, 15, trans. Mayor-Souter.

AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Professor Fairchild submits the following note bearing upon his recent article, *Robert Bloomfield*:

Mention of a scholarly master's thesis by Mr. E. A. White, now of Northwestern University, written on my suggestion and under my direction, and covering particularly the biographical and historical background of Bloomfield, was omitted by an unfortunate oversight on my part from my article. Due credit for the work done and for help derived should be given Mr. White.

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